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*Translated by*  
F. R. WALTON and  
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DIODORUS 'SICULUS', Greek historian of Agyrium in Sicily, c. 80 B.C.-20 B.C., wrote 40 books of world-history, called *Library of History*, in three parts—mythical history of peoples, non-Greek and Greek, to the Trojan War; history to Alexander's death (323 B.C.); history to 54 B.C. Of this we have Books I-V (Egyptians, Assyrians, Ethiopians, Greeks); Books XI-XX (Greek history 480 B.C.-302 B.C.); and fragments of the rest. He was an uncritical compiler, but used good sources and reproduced them faithfully. He is valuable for details unrecorded elsewhere, and as evidence for works now lost, especially the writing of Ephorus, Apollodorus, Agartharchides, Philistus, and Timaeus.

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L. A. POST, L.H.D. E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

DIODORUS OF SICILY

XII

*Diodorus Siculus*

# DIODORUS OF SICILY

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

XII

FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXXIII-XL

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

FRANCIS R. WALTON

GENNADIUS LIBRARY, ATHENS

WITH A GENERAL INDEX TO DIODORUS BY

RUSSEL M. GEER

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL LANGUAGES  
TULANE UNIVERSITY



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DIODORUS OF SICILY

IN FIVE VOLUMES

112

TRANSLATED BY

WILLIAM E. HAMILTON

AND

EDWARD V. Rieu

WITH A GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES IV

AND V

AND A GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES IV



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## INTRODUCTION

In the Introduction to volume XI, p. xxiii, I noted that the text of the Photius fragments of Diodorus should, ideally, have been based on a collation of the two primary manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca*, A and M (Cod. Marc. Ven. 450 and 451), of which Bekker knew only the former. In 1959 a new edition of the *Bibliotheca*, a long-felt need, began to appear in the Budé series, "Collection Byzantine." Edited and translated by René Henry, the work is now half-way to completion, and in due course we may expect to have a definitive text of the learned patriarch's extracts from Diodorus. Meanwhile, Professor Henry has generously provided me with his collation of the manuscripts. Since my text was already prepared, and in proofs since 1957, it was not, unfortunately, possible to make direct use of this material. I have, however, recorded in the Addenda and Corrigenda a certain number of readings that seemed to be of particular importance or interest.

My particular thanks are due also to Mr. B. Panayiotopoulos and to Professor E. Gabba for their help in reading and interpreting an Athos manuscript of John of Antioch. This late but interesting document, which I have discussed at some length in *Historia*, 14 (1965), pp. 236-251, provides a new text for Bk. 38/9. 5, and a new, if dubious, *fragmentum sedis incertae* (no. 15).

## INTRODUCTION

Professor Frank J. Frost kindly called to my attention what appeared to be a new fragment of Diodorus in a scholion on Gregorius Nazianzenus (Piccolomini, *Annali delle Università Toscane*, xvi, p. 232). A discussion of the ὀβολός and other monetary units, it is specifically ascribed to Diodorus of Sicily. In fact, it is almost certainly by a later Diodorus, the author of the *Περὶ σταθμῶν* (cp. Suidas, *s.v.* τάλαντον). Though irrelevant to our present concern, I record its elimination to spare some future editor.

FRANCIS R. WALTON

ATHENS, May 1966

## THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY OF DIODORUS OF SICILY

### FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXXIII-XL



ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ  
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXIII

1. "Οτι Λυσιτανοί, φησί, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιόχρεων ἡγεμόνα εὐάλωτοι καθίσταντο Ῥωμαίοις πολεμοῦντες, ὕστερον δὲ Ὑριάθου κυρήσαντες μεγάλα Ῥωμαίους ἔβλαψαν. ἦν μὲν οὖν οὗτος τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν οἰκούντων Λυσιτανῶν, ποιμαίνων δ'<sup>1</sup> ἐκ παιδὸς ὀρεῖν βίῳ κατέστη συνήθης, συνεργὸν ἔχων καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν· καὶ γὰρ ῥώμῃ καὶ τάχει καὶ τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν εὐκινησίᾳ πολὺ διήνεγκε τῶν Ἰβήρων.<sup>2</sup> 2 συνεθίσας δὲ αὐτὸν τροφῇ μὲν ὀλίγῃ γυμνασίῳ δὲ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ ὕπνῳ μέχρι μόνου τοῦ ἀναγκαίου, καθόλου δὲ σιδηροφορῶν συνεχῶς καὶ θηρίοις καὶ λησταῖς εἰς ἀγῶνας καθιστάμενος, περιβόητος ἐγένετο παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι, καὶ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> δ' added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Herwerden suggests τῇ τῶν μελῶν εὐκινησίᾳ . . . τῶν λοιπῶν Ἰβήρων.

THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY  
OF  
DIODORUS OF SICILY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXIII

1. The Lusitanians, says Diodorus, were at first for lack of any adequate leader an easy prey in their war with Rome, but later, after they found Viriathus, inflicted heavy losses on the Romans.<sup>1</sup> This Viriathus was one of the Lusitanians who dwell near the ocean, and having been a shepherd from boyhood was a practised mountaineer; to this mode of life, indeed, his physical endowment well suited him, since in strength of arm, in speed of foot, and in agility and nimbleness generally he was far superior to the other Iberians. Having accustomed himself to a regime of little food, much exercise, and a bare minimum of sleep, and in short by living at all times under arms and in constant conflict with beasts of the wild and with brigands, he had made his name a byword with the populace, was chosen to be their leader, and in

<sup>1</sup> This summary of the career of Viriathus appears in Photius among the fragments of Book 32. For its position here (following Dindorf) see the final note to Book 32. On the character of Viriathus see also Dio Cassius, 22, 73, and Appian, *Hisp.* 75.



ἡρέθη, καὶ ταχὺ σύστημα περὶ ἑαυτὸν ληστῶν ἤ-  
 θροισε. καὶ προκόπτων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις οὐ μό-  
 νον ἐθαυμαστώθη δι' ἀλκὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγεῖν  
 3 ἔδοξε διαφερόντως. ἦν δὲ καὶ δίκαιος ἐν ταῖς δια-  
 νομαῖς τῶν λαφύρων καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τοὺς ἀνδρα-  
 γαθήσαντας ἐξῆρε<sup>1</sup> τοῖς δώροις. προῖων δὲ οὐκέτι  
 ληστὴν ἀλλὰ δυνάστην αὐτὸν ἀναδείξας ἐπολέμησε  
 Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πολλαῖς ἐκράτησε μάχαις, ὥς καὶ  
 στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων Οὐιτέλλιον αὐτῷ καταπολε-  
 μῆσαι στρατῷ καὶ αἰχμάλωτον λαβεῖν καὶ ξίφει  
 ἀνελεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα εὐήμερῆσαι κατὰ πόλεμον,  
 4 ἕως Φάβιος στρατηγὸς τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολέμου  
 κεχειροτόνητο. ἐκείθεν δ' ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἤρξατο ἐπ'  
 οὐκ ὀλίγον. εἶτα ἀναλαβὼν καὶ κατευδοκιμήσας  
 Φαβίου εἰς συνθήκας αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἀναξίους Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἠνάγκασεν. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Καιπίων<sup>2</sup> στρατηγεῖν  
 καθ' Ὑριάθου αἰρεθεὶς τὰς τε συνθήκας ἠκύρωσε,  
 καὶ πολλάκις Ὑριάθον ἐλαττώσας, εἶτα εἰς ἔσχα-  
 τον ἡττης συνελάσας ὥστε καὶ πρὸς σπονδὰς ὄρᾶν,  
 διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐδολοφόνησε. καὶ τὸν διαδεξάμε-  
 νον αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ταύταμον καὶ τοὺς μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ καταπληξάμενος καὶ σπονδὰς οἷας ἐβούλετο  
 θέσθαι παρασκευασάμενος, ἔδωκε χώραν καὶ πόλιν  
 εἰς κατοίκησιν. (Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 383-384 B.)  
 5 "Ὅτι Ὑριάθης ὁ λῆσταρχος ὁ Λυσιτανὸς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Warmington; ἐξῆρε. For ἐξῆρε τοῖς one MS. reads  
 ἐξαίρετοῖς (cp. chap. 1. 5, whence Wesseling would also add  
 τιμῶν after κατ' ἀξίαν, above). Nock suggests ἐξαίρετοῖς ἐξῆρε  
 τοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> So Rhodoman: Σκηπίων.

<sup>1</sup> C. Vetilius, praetor in 147 B.C., was ambushed and de-  
 feated near Tribula (Appian, *Hisp.* 61-63). In the text his  
 name appears as Vitellius.

a short while gathered about him a band of free-  
 booters. By his success on the battlefield he not  
 only won acclaim as a warrior but gained besides  
 a reputation for exceptional qualities of leadership.  
 He was, moreover, scrupulous in the division of  
 spoils and according to their deserts honoured with  
 gifts those of his men who distinguished themselves  
 for bravery. As time went on he proclaimed him-  
 self chieftain, a brigand no more, and taking up  
 arms against the Romans, he defeated them in  
 many battles: the Roman general Vetilius,<sup>1</sup> for 147 B.C.  
 example, he utterly crushed, with all his army, and  
 taking the general himself captive, put him to death  
 by the sword. He won many military successes  
 besides, until Fabius<sup>2</sup> was chosen to take charge of 145/4 B.C.  
 the war against him. Thereupon his fortunes began  
 to decline in no small measure. Then, rallying, he  
 won new laurels at the expense of Fabius and forced 140 B.C.  
 him to subscribe to a treaty unworthy of the Romans.  
 But Caepio,<sup>3</sup> on being picked to command the forces 140/39 B.C.  
 opposing Viriathus, annulled the treaty, and after  
 first inflicting repeated reverses on Viriathus and  
 then bringing him to utter defeat—so that he even  
 sought a truce—got him assassinated by the man's  
 own kinsmen. Then, having cowed Tautamus, who  
 succeeded to the command, and his army, and having  
 arranged a treaty such as he wished to impose, he  
 granted them land and a city in which to dwell.

Viriathus, the Lusitanian robber-captain, was

<sup>2</sup> The reference here is probably to Q. Fabius Maximus  
 Aemilianus, consul in 145 B.C. (cp. Appian, *Hisp.* 65), but the  
 Fabius mentioned just below is certainly Q. Fabius Maximus  
 Servilianus, consul in 142 B.C. (Appian, *Hisp.* 67-69).

<sup>3</sup> Q. Servilius Caepio, consul in 140 B.C. See below, chap.  
 21, and Appian, *Hisp.* 70, 74-75.

δίκαιος ἦν ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς τῶν λαφύρων καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τιμῶν τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας ἑξαίρετοις δώροις, ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν νοσφιζόμενος. διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς<sup>1</sup> προθυμότερα συγκινδυνεύειν αὐτῷ, τιμῶντας οἰοῦναι τινὰ κοινὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα.

2. "Οτι ὁ Πλαύτιος ὁ ἑξαπέλεκτος στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κακὸς προστάτης ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ· ἀνθ' ὧν κατάκριτος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τεταπεινωκέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης.

3. "Οτι κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἄχρηστος ὢν εἰς προστασίαν βασιλείας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπέτρεψεν<sup>2</sup> Ἰέρακι καὶ Διοδότῳ.

4. "Οτι Δημήτριος, τεταπεινωμένης τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον βασιλείας, καὶ μόνος ἀπολειφθεὶς ἀπολελῦσθαι διέλαβεν ἑαυτὸν παντὸς κινδύνου. διόπερ τῆς συνήθους τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀρεσκείας καταφρονήσας καὶ βαρύτερος αἰεὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς προστάγμασι γινόμενος ἀπέσκηψεν εἰς ὠμότητα τυραννικὴν καὶ ποικίλων ἀνομημάτων ὑπερβολάς. αἰτία δ' ἦν αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> Λυσιτανοὺς added by Valesius.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπέτρεψε P.

<sup>1</sup> C. Plautius, praetor in 146 B.C., was disastrously defeated by Viriathus (Appian, *Hisp.* 64; cp. Livy, *Per.* 52). *Minuta* (or *imminuta*) *maiestas* might embrace any crime committed against the Roman people and its security.

<sup>2</sup> This fragment, with the two immediately preceding it (1. 5 and 2), could and perhaps should be placed in the preceding book, between chap. 27. 3 and chap. 9c. But if, as seems likely, the narrative of Viriathus was entirely reserved for Book 33, all three fragments are correctly placed, and the

scrupulous in the division of spoils: he based his rewards on merit, making special gifts to those of his men who distinguished themselves for bravery, and took for his own use not one thing belonging to the common store. In consequence the Lusitanians followed him wholeheartedly into battle, and honoured him as their common benefactor and saviour.

2. In his provincial governorship Plautius,<sup>1</sup> the 146 B.C. Roman praetor, proved to be a poor leader. Found guilty on his return home on charges of *minuta maiestas*, he left Rome and went into exile.

3. In Syria King Alexander, whose weakness of 145 B.C. (?) character rendered him incompetent to govern a kingdom, had turned over the administration of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus.<sup>2</sup>

4. Demetrius, now that the royal power of Egypt 145 B.C. had been shattered and he alone was left,<sup>3</sup> assumed that he was quit of all danger. Scorning, therefore, to ingratiate himself with the populace as was customary, and waxing ever more burdensome in his demands upon them, he sank into ways of despotic brutality and extravagantly lawless behaviour of every sort. Now the responsibility for his dis-

present passage (chap. 3) will refer to the situation in Syria after the battle of the Oenoparas and the death of Alexander Balas, the reference to Alexander being merely explanatory. For Diodotus (Tryphon) see below, chap. 4a, and cp. Book 32. 9c.

<sup>3</sup> Alone, that is, of the three claimants to part or all of Syria: Demetrius II Nicator, Alexander Balas, and Ptolemy VI Philometor. Ptolemy had died of injuries received in the battle of the Oenoparas, leaving the kingdom in dispute between his widow and son, on the one hand, and his brother Physcon on the other, and with his death Egyptian pretensions to Coelē Syria had collapsed.



τῆς διαθέσεως ταύτης οὐ μόνον ἡ φύσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείας προεστηκώς· οὗτος γὰρ ἀσεβὴς ὢν καὶ ῥαδιουργὸς πάντων τῶν κακῶν εἰσηγητῆς ἐγένετο, κολακεύων τὸ<sup>1</sup> μεираκίον καὶ προτρεπόμενος πρὸς τὰς αἰσχίστας πράξεις. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γεγονότας ἀλλοτρίους οὐ μετρίαις ἐπιτιμήσεσιν ἐκόλαζεν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίαις ἐξηλλαγμέναις περιέβαλλεν. ἔπειτα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων χρωμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ συνηθείᾳ, ξενικὴν δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συνεστήσατο καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα παρείλετο, τῶν δὲ μὴ προαιρουμένων παραδοῦναι τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διέφθειρεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν κατεκέντησεν. μεγάλης δὲ ταραχῆς γενομένης περὶ τὸν παρ-  
3 οπλισμόν, τὰ πλείστα τῆς πόλεως ἐνέπρησε. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν κατατρεφέντων τιμωρησάμενος εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ταμεῖον τὰς οὐσίας ἀνέλαβε. διὰ δὲ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὸ μῖσος πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων φυγόντες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἡλῶντο καθ' ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν, τηροῦντες τοὺς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καιροὺς. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ὑπάρχων αὐτοῖς πολέμιος οὐ διέλιπε ποιῶν σφαγὰς καὶ φυγὰς καὶ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεις, πολὺ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς χαλεπότητα καὶ μισαι-  
4 φονίαν ὑπερβαλόμενος. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐ βασιλικὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἀλλὰ τυραννικὴν παρανομίαν ἐξηλωκῶς ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς τοὺς ὑποταττομένους περιεβέβληκε· ὥστε συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεῖς διὰ τὴν παρανομίαν μισεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἀγαπᾶ-

<sup>1</sup> τὸ added by Valesius.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Lasthenes, a Cretan, who is called the King's

position lay not only in his nature, but also with the man<sup>1</sup> who was set over the kingdom. For he, being an impious knave, was the author of all these evils, since he flattered the youth and prompted him to deeds of utter infamy. In the first instance Demetrius chastened those who had been hostile to him in the war, not with mild censure, but visited them with outlandish punishments. Then, when the citizens of Antioch behaved towards him in their usual fashion, he arrayed against them a considerable body of mercenary troops and stripped the citizens of their arms; those who did not choose to hand them over he either slew in open combat or cut down, together with their wives and children, in their own homes; and when serious riots broke out over the disarming he set fire to the greater part of the city.<sup>2</sup> After punishing many of those implicated, he confiscated their property to the royal purse. Many Antiochenes, in fear and hatred, fled the city and wandered all about Syria, biding their time to attack the king. Demetrius, now their avowed enemy, never ceased to murder, banish, and rob, and even outdid his father in harshness and thirst for blood. For in fact his father, who had affected, not a kingly equity, but a tyrant's lawlessness, had involved his subjects in irremediable misfortunes, with the consequence that the kings of this house were hated for their transgressions, and those of the other house were loved for their equity.

"Kinsman" and "Father" in 1 Macc. 11. 31-32, and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 13. 126-127. According to E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 2. 302 (App. R), Demetrius was probably a mere youth of fifteen at the time of his accession.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the account in 1 Macc. 11. 44-48, and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 13. 135-142.

σθαι. διὸ καὶ παρ' ἑκαστον ἀγῶνες καὶ πόλεμοι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Συρίαν, ἐφεδρευόντων ἀλλήλοις αἰὲ τῶν δυναστῶν τῶν ἀφ' ἑκάστης οἰκίας. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πλήθη διὰ τὴν τῶν κατιόντων αἰὲ βασιλέων ἀρέσκειαν εὐθέτως εἶχε πρὸς τὰς μεταβολάς.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 294-295.)

4a. "Ὅτι Διόδοτος τις ἐπικαλούμενος Τρύφων, ὑπάρχων δὲ ἐν πολλῷ ἀξιώματι τῶν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ φίλων, ὁρῶν τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν ὄχλων καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην μῖσος, ἀποστὰς τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ ταχὺ πολλοὺς εὐρύων κοινωνοῦντας τῆς προαιρέσεως . . . τοὺς περὶ τὴν Λάρισσαν διωνομασμένους ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ τὴν ἐνθάδε κατοικίαν εἰληφότας δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἀποίκους δὲ ὄντας τῆς Θετταλικῆς Λαρίσσης, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Νικάτορος βασιλεῦσι γεγονότας συμμάχους κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἄγλημα τῆς ἱππικῆς δυνάμεως . . . ἐποίησατο δὲ σύμμαχον καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀραβίας δυνάστην Ἰάμβλιχον, ὃς ἐτύγγανεν ἔχων παραθήκην<sup>2</sup> Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ χρηματίζοντα, παῖδα μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, υἱὸν δὲ ὄντα Ἀλεξάνδρου. τοῦτω μὲν οὖν διάδημα περιθεῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν βασιλεῖ θεραπείαν κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχήν. ὑπελάμβανε γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, τὰ πλήθη μεταβολῆς ὀρεγόμενα προθύμως τὸν παῖδα κατὰξιν διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τῶν . . .<sup>3</sup> βασιλέων καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ τότε ἄρχοντος παρανομίαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀθροίσας μέτριον σύστημα κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ<sup>4</sup>

Hence at any moment there were struggles and continual wars in Syria, as the princes of each house constantly lay in wait for one another. The populace, in fact, welcomed the dynastic changes, since each king on being restored sought their favour.

4a. A certain Diodotus, also called Tryphon, who stood high in esteem among the king's "Friends," perceiving the excitement of the masses and their hatred for the prince, revolted from Demetrius, and soon finding large numbers ready to join him (enlisted first ?) the men of Larissa, who were renowned for their courage, and had indeed received their present habitation as a reward of valour (for they were colonists from Thessalian Larissa), and as loyal allies to the royal line descended from Seleucus Nicator (had always fought ?) in the front ranks of the cavalry. He also made an ally of the Arab sheikh Iamblichus,<sup>1</sup> who happened to have in his keeping Antiochus (styled Epiphanes),<sup>2</sup> a mere child, the son of Alexander. Setting a diadem on his head and providing him with the retinue appropriate to a king, he restored the child to his father's throne. For he supposed, as was only natural, that the populace, eager for a change, would welcome him home because of the equity of the kings (of this house ?) and because of the lawlessness of the present ruler. Having collected a modest host he first

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. 11. 39 gives his name as Imalkue; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 13. 131 as Malchus.

<sup>2</sup> The first coins of Antiochus VI Epiphanes, son of Alexander Balas, are dated in the year 167 of the Seleucid era, i.e. before autumn, 145 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Feder suggests τῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας β. (cp. chap. 4. 4). Herwerden supplies προτέρων from Book 31. 32a.

<sup>4</sup> παρὰ Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> So Feder, Müller: ἀπὸ τοῦ λεύκου S (τοῦ added in a later hand).

<sup>2</sup> παρακαταθήκην Müller, De Boor.



πόλιν Χαλκίδα κειμένην ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀραβίας, δυναμένην δὲ δυνάμεις ἐνδιατριβούσας διαθρέφαι καὶ παρέχεσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἐντεῦθεν τε<sup>1</sup> ὁρμώμενος προσηγάγετο τοὺς πλησιοχώρους καὶ τὸν πρὸς πόλεμον χρησίμων τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ληστοῦ τινος κατεφρόνει καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν προσέταξεν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παράδοξον δύνανμιν περιποιησαμένου καὶ πρόσχημα τῆς ἰδίας τόλμης λαβόντος<sup>2</sup> τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἔγνω στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπειν.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 204-205.)

5. "Ὅτι οἱ τὴν Ἀραδὸν οἰκοῦντες ὑπέλαβον καιρὸν ἐληφέναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν Μαραθινῶν ἀπώλειαν. ἀποστείλαντες οὖν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις πρὸς Ἀμμώνιον τὸν προεστηκότα τῆς βασιλείας ἔπεισαν τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις παραδοῦναι τὴν Μάραθὸν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Ἰσίδωρον αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλε λόγῳ μὲν ὡς ἐφ' ἑτέρας χρείας, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαιρήσοντα καὶ παραδύσοντα τοῖς Ἀραδίοις. οἱ δὲ Μαραθηνοὶ τὸν κεκυρωμένον καθ' αὐτῶν ὀλεθρον ἀγνοοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ Ἀραδίους ὀρῶντες ἐν προτιμῇσει παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ φερομένους, ἔγνωσαν τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν πόλιν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι, τῶν δὲ Ἀραδίων αὐτοὺς ἱκέτας γενέσθαι. εὐθὺς οὖν τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους παρ' ἑαυτοῖς<sup>3</sup> δέκα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀραδὸν ἱκετηρίαν κομίζοντας<sup>4</sup> μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ παλαιότατα τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀφιδρυμάτων ὑπ-

encamped around Chalcis, a city situated on the Arabian border and capable of supporting an army quartered there and assuring it safety ; with this as his base he brought over the neighbouring regions and accumulated the supplies needed for war. Demetrius at first made light of him as a mere brigand, and ordered his soldiers to arrest the man, but later, when Tryphon had built up an army of unexpected size and taken as a pretext for his own venture the restoration of the boy to his kingdom, Demetrius resolved to dispatch a general against him.

5. The inhabitants of Aradus thought that the moment had come to destroy the city of Marathus. Sending secretly therefore to Ammonius,<sup>1</sup> the prime minister of the realm, they persuaded him by a gift of three hundred talents to betray Marathus to them. He sent Isidorus to Marathus, ostensibly on some other business, in reality to seize the city and hand it over to the Aradians. But the Marathenes, ignorant of the doom pronounced against them and aware that the Aradians stood high in favour with the king, resolved not to admit into the city the soldiers sent by the king, and instead to appeal personally for help from Aradus. Accordingly they at once selected ten of their oldest citizens, men of the highest distinction, and sent them to Aradus bearing branches of supplication, and carrying with them the most ancient of the city's idols, hoping,

<sup>1</sup> If this Ammonius is the minister of Alexander Balas (so Niese, *Gesch. griech. u. mak. Staaten*, 3, 279, note 3), the present narrative must concern an earlier incident, told perhaps as background for the destruction of Marathus during the strife between Demetrius and Tryphon.

<sup>4</sup> So Ursinus : κομίζοντες O.

<sup>1</sup> δὲ Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> So Feder, Müller : λαβόντας S.

<sup>3</sup> So Herwerden : παρὰ τοῖς O.

ἐλάμβανον γὰρ ἐλέω συγγενείας<sup>1</sup> καὶ θεῶν εὐσεβεία μεταθήσειν τὴν πᾶσαν ὀργὴν τῶν Ἀραδίων. <sup>3</sup> οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς δεδομένας ἐντολὰς ἐκβάντες τῆς νηὸς εἰς ἱκεσίαν καὶ δέησιν ἐτρέποντο τῶν ὄχλων. οἱ δὲ Ἀράδιοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνηρητῆμένοι κατεφρόνησαν μὲν τῶν κοινῶν τῆς ἱκεσίας νόμων, παρ' οὐδὲν δὲ ἡγήσαντο τὴν τῶν συγγενικῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων καὶ θεῶν εὐσέβειαν· διόπερ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα συντρίψαντες ὕβριστικῶς κατεπάτησαν, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβευτὰς ἐπεβάλοντο τοῖς λίθοις καταλεύειν. πρεσβυτέρων δὲ τινων ἐπιλαβομένων τῆς ὁρμῆς τῶν ὄχλων, μόγις διὰ τὴν τούτων ἐντροπὴν τοῦ βάλλειν ἀποσχόμενοι προσέταξαν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοὺς ἀπαγαγεῖν. (Const. Exc. 1, p. 405.)

<sup>4</sup> Ὅτι οἱ Ἀράδιοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνηρητῆμένοι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἡτίμασαν. ἐπιβωμένων δὲ τῶν ἀτυχούντων<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἱερὰν τῶν ἱκετῶν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν τῆς τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀσουλίας, παροξυνθέντες οἱ τολμηρότατοι τῶν νέων ἐξεκέντησαν τοὺς ἱκέτας. οἱ δὲ ἀνόσιον φόνον ἐπιτελεσάμενοι συνέδραμον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν παρανομήμασι συνεπιχειρονομοῦντες ἄλλην κατὰ τῶν Μαραθηνῶν ἐπι- <sup>5</sup> βουλὴν<sup>3</sup> ἀσεβῆ συνεστήσαντο. περιελόμενοι γὰρ τῶν σφαγέντων τοὺς δακτυλίους ἐπεμψαν ὡς παρὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Μαραθηνῶν, ἐν ᾗ ἐδήλουν ἐπαγγελλομένους τοὺς Ἀραδίους πέμψαι<sup>4</sup> στρατιώτας τοὺς βοηθήσοντας, ὅπως πιστευσάντων τῶν Μαραθηνῶν ὡς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν συμμάχους ἀποστελλομένους, προσδεχθῶσιν

<sup>1</sup> So Ursinus: συγγενεῖ O.

<sup>2</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: ἀτυχούν P.

by an appeal to the ties of kinship and to reverence for the gods, to effect a complete change in the attitude of the Aradians. The emissaries, following instructions, disembarked from their ship and addressed their appeals and supplications to the populace. The Aradians, keyed to a frenzy, paid no heed to the laws everywhere observed with respect to suppliants, and counted as nought the reverence due to the images and gods of a kindred people. So, dashing to pieces the divine images they wantonly trampled them under foot, and attempted to stone the envoys to death. But when a few elderly men intervened to check the excited mob, the crowd reluctantly and in deference to the elders stopped throwing stones, but bade them lead the envoys off to prison.

The Aradians, keyed to a frenzy, showed no respect for the envoys. And when the hapless emissaries in protest invoked the sacred rights of suppliants and the inviolability assured to envoys, the most reckless of the young men in a fury ran them through. As soon as the unholy slaughter was ended, they rushed to the assembly, and compounding their offences contrived yet another impious plot against the Marathenes. Stripping the dead men of their rings,<sup>1</sup> they sent a letter to the people of Marathus, ostensibly from the ambassadors, in which they informed them that the Aradians promised to send soldiers to their aid, hoping that, if the Marathenes believed that they had, in truth, allies on the way, their soldiers would be admitted to the

<sup>1</sup> The rings were used to seal the forged letter.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἐπιβολὴν P.

<sup>4</sup> πέμψειν Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

6 οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> στρατιῶται. οὐ μὴν ἡδυνήθησάν γε τὴν ἄνομον ἐπιβολὴν εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβοῦς καὶ δικαίου κατελεήσαντος τὴν τύχην τῶν μελλόντων πάσχειν ἀνέκεστα. τῶν γὰρ Ἀραδίων πάντα τὰ πλοῖα παρελομένων, ὅπως μηδεὶς δυνηθῇ δηλῶσαι τοῖς ἐπιβουλευομένοις τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν σκευωρίαν, θαλαττουργός τις πρὸς τοὺς Μαραθηνοὺς οἰκείως διακείμενος καὶ τὸν αὐλῶνα τὸν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους ἐργαζόμενος, παρηρημένης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀλιάδος, διενήξατο νυκτὸς τὸν πόρον καὶ παραβόλως διήνυσσε τοὺς ὀκτὼ σταδίου καὶ ἑδήλωσε τοῖς Μαραθηνοῖς τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλήν. οἱ δὲ Ἀράδιοι γνόντες διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων μεμνηνυμένην τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν ἀπέστησαν τῆς διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κακουργίας.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 295-296.)

5a. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Πισιδίαν Μολκέστης<sup>2</sup> τις ἦν, τὸ μὲν γένος Βουβωνεύς, ἀξίωμα δὲ μέγιστον ἔχων τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους κατοικούντων, διὰ τε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν στρατηγὸς αἰρούμενος. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἰσχύων σωματοφύλακας ἔσχε καὶ φανερώς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέδειξε τύραννον. μετὰ δέ τινες χρόνους ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Σεμίας, σπεύδων εἰς ἑαυτὸν περιστήσαι τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ πιστευόμενος ὡς ἂν ἀδελφός, ἀνείλε τὸν Μοκέστην καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα διεδέξατο. οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τοῦ σφαγέντος, ἀντίπαιδες ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντες, ὑπὸ τινος συγγενοῦς ἀπήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Τερμησσὸν<sup>3</sup> λαθραίως. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: αὐτοῦ (s. *spir.*) P.

<sup>2</sup> Μολκέστης or Μολκέτης S, Μοαγέτης Feder, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>, here and below.

<sup>3</sup> So Feder, Müller: Τέρμησον S.

city. They were not, however, able to carry through their wicked design, since a god-fearing and upright man took pity on their fate even as they were about to be utterly ruined. Though the Aradians had removed all boats, so that no one should be able to reveal to the intended victims the intrigue aimed at them, a certain seaman, well disposed towards the Marathenes and accustomed to ply the waterways thereabouts, swam by night across the strait (for his own bark had been taken away), safely accomplished the perilous mile-long crossing, and revealed to the Marathenes the plot against them. And when the Aradians learned through spies that their project had been made known, they gave up the villainous scheme of the letters.

5a. In Pisidia there was a man named Molcestes<sup>1</sup>: 145/39 B.C. a native of Boubo, he stood first in esteem among all in those parts, and because of his prominence was chosen general. As his power grew, he obtained bodyguards, and then openly proclaimed himself tyrant. After a certain time his brother, Semias, who sought to transfer the power to himself and who was trusted as a brother would be, slew Mocaltes and succeeded to his position. The sons of the murdered man, who at the time were still in their teens, were secretly taken by a kinsman to Termessus. There they were reared, and on reaching

<sup>1</sup> The name appears below as Mocaltes, but Feder was perhaps right in emending to Moagetes, whether or not the man is identical with or related to Moagetes the tyrant of Cibyra mentioned in Polybius, 21. 34 (189 B.C.). The name Moagetes was common in Anatolia. At some undefined date Cibyra, Boubo, Balboursa, and Oenoanda made up a tetrapolis (Strabo, 13. 4. 17, p. 631). For an inscription concerning a certain Moagetes of Boubo see G. E. Bean in *J.H.S.* 68 (1948), 46 ff., and J. A. O. Larsen in *C.P.* 51 (1956), 151 ff.



τραφέντες καὶ γεννηθέντες ἐνήλικοι τὸν τε πατρῶν  
φόνον μετῆλθον, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀνελόντες δυνα-  
στεύειν οὐ προείλαντο, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι τὴν δημοκρα-  
τίαν ἀπεκατέστησαν. (Const. Exc. 3, p. 205.)

6. "Ὅτι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ  
Φιλομήτορος ἀδελφὸς βασιλεύσας ἐξ ἀνομημάτων  
ἤρξατο μεγάλων διοικεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν·  
πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ ψευδέσιν<sup>1</sup> αἰτίαις περιβάλλων ὥς  
ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ ὡμῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἀνήρει,  
ἄλλους<sup>2</sup> δὲ ποικίλαις προφάσεσι συκοφαντῶν ὥς  
ἀδικούντας ἐφυγάδευε καὶ τὰς τούτων οὐσίας ἀφ-  
ῆρειτο. ἐφ' οἷς δυσχεραίνοντων καὶ ἀγανακτούν-  
των, τὴν παρὰ πάντων ὀργὴν ἐπαναιρούμενος ταχὺ  
τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ἦλθεν εἰς μῖσος. ὁμῶς ἐβα-  
σίλευσεν ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα.

(Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 296.)

6a. Διόδωρος δὲ φησιν ὅτι πεντεκαίδεκα (ἔτη) ὁ  
νεώτερος Πτολεμαῖος ἐβασίλευσεν μετὰ τὸν πρε-  
σβύτερον ἀδελφόν, πολλὰς τε παρανομίας διεπρά-  
ξατο τὴν τε ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν Κλεοπάτραν γήμας καὶ  
πολλοὺς διαβάλλων<sup>3</sup> ψευδῶς ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντας  
αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρῶν τοὺς δὲ συκοφαντίαις  
φυγαδεύων καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρούμενος.

(Georgius Syncellus, p. 539 Dind.)

7. "Ὅτι Ὑρίαθρος, πολλῶν παρατεθέντων κατὰ  
τὸν γάμον ἀργυρῶν τε καὶ χρυσῶν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ  
ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν ὑφασμάτων, τῇ λόγχῃ  
προσαιωρησάμενος ἀπεθεώρει τὸ τοιοῦτο πλήθος,  
οὐ θαυμάζων οὐδὲ<sup>4</sup> ἐκπληττόμενος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
καταφρονήσεως ἔννοιαν ἐπιφαίνων. καὶ πολλὰ

<sup>1</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius : ψευδεῶν P.

<sup>2</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius : ἀνείρει. ἄλλαις P.

full manhood set out to avenge their father's murder.  
But after slaying the tyrant, they elected not to  
assume power themselves, but restored their country's  
popular government.

6. Ptolemy,<sup>1</sup> the brother of Ptolemy Philometor, <sup>145 B.C.</sup>  
on becoming king began his administration of the  
realm with flagrant breaches of the law. There were  
many persons, for example, whom he ensnared on  
false charges of plotting against him, and cruelly  
and illegally put to death; others he falsely charged  
with crime on various counts, and driving them into  
exile confiscated their property. As these acts pro-  
voked dissatisfaction and resentment, he brought  
upon himself the wrath of the entire populace and  
soon became an object of hatred to his subjects.  
None the less he ruled for fifteen years.

6a. Diodorus says that the younger Ptolemy, suc-  
ceeding his elder brother, ruled for fifteen years,  
and committed many lawless acts: he married his  
own sister, Cleopatra,<sup>2</sup> falsely accused many of plot-  
ting against him, and putting some to death, drove  
others into exile by his charges and seized their  
property.

7. Viriathus, when many gold and silver cups and  
all sorts of brodered robes had been set out for his  
wedding, supporting himself on his lance, regarded  
the lavish display with no sign of admiration or  
wonder, but showed rather a feeling of disdain. He

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, nicknamed Physcon ("Pot-  
belly"). The "fifteen years" mentioned below covers the  
period till his exile in 131 B.C., but his troubled reign  
actually extended to 116 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Cleopatra II, previously the wife of Ptolemy VI.

<sup>3</sup> So Scaliger : περιβαλ(λ)ων MSS., διαβαλὼν Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf : οὔτε P.



εἰπὼν πραγματικῶς ἀποκρίσει μὲν πολλὰς ἐμφάσεις ἀπέλειπεν<sup>1</sup> ἀχαριστίας εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ ἀφροσύνης . . . ἐπὶ τὸ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀστάτοις τῆς τύχης δωρήμασιν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ περιβόητος τοῦ συγκηδεστοῦ πλοῦτος δοῦλος ἦν τοῦ τὴν λόγχην ἔχοντος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι χάριν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ὀφείλει, δίδωσιν δὲ οὐδὲν<sup>2</sup> ἴδιον τῷ κυρίῳ πάντων. ὁ δ' οὖν Ὑρίαθος οὔτε ἐλούσατο λιπαρούντων οὔτε κατεκλίθη· τραπέζης δὲ παρατεθείσης παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων, ἀφελὼν ἄρτους καὶ κρέα τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πορευθεῖσιν ἔδωκε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ χειρῶν βραχέα προσενεγκάμενος ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε τὴν νύμφην. θύσας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰ<sup>3</sup> νομιζόμενα παρ' Ἰβηροὶ ποιήσας ἐπέθετο τὴν παρθένον ἐπὶ τὴν ἵππον, καὶ παρὰ χρήμα ἀπήλυνεν εἰς τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι παρασκευάς.<sup>3</sup> ὑπελάμβανεν γὰρ τὴν μὲν αὐτάρκειαν μέγιστον ὑπάρχειν πλοῦτον, τὴν δὲ ἐλευθερίαν πατρίδα, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρείας ὑπεροχὴν βεβαιωτάτην κτήσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας<sup>4</sup> εὐστοχος, ὥς ἂν ἐξ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου φύσεως ἀμωμήτους φέρων τοὺς λόγους.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 296-297.)

4 "Ὅτι ὁ Ὑρίαθος, ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον πολλῶν προτεθέντων πραγμάτων καὶ πολυτελῶν, ὥς ἄδην<sup>5</sup> εἶχε τῆς θέας, ἐπηρώτησε τὸν Ἀστόλπαν, Εἴτα<sup>6</sup> ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ σοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐστιάσεις

<sup>1</sup> ἀπέλειπεν Salmasius, Valesius, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ Salmasius, Valesius: κατὰ P.

<sup>3</sup> ἀποσκευάς Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> So Wesseling: ὁμολογίας P, ἀπολογίας V (chap. 7. 5).

also in a single remark spoke volumes of good sense, and he let fall many statements about ingratitude towards benefactors and about folly . . . at being puffed up over the unstable gifts of fortune: above all, that the much-touted wealth of his father-in-law was itself subject to the man who held the spear; further, that he owed him a greater debt than others, yet offered him, the true master of it all, no personal gift.<sup>1</sup> Viriathus therefore neither bathed nor took his place at table, though importuned to do so, but when a table with viands of all sorts was set before him, he took bread and meat and gave it to those who had made the journey with him; then, after casually<sup>2</sup> taking a few morsels himself, he ordered them to fetch the bride. Having offered sacrifice and performed the rites customary among the Iberians, he set the maiden on his mare and rode off at once to the place he had in readiness in the mountains. For he considered self-sufficiency his greatest wealth, freedom his country, and the eminence won by bravery his secure possession. He was a man who in conversation too went straight to the mark, since the words he uttered were the faultless outpouring of an untutored and unspoilt nature.

When many costly objects had been set out for his wedding, Viriathus, having looked his fill, said to Astolpas: "How is it, pray, that the Romans, who saw all this at your banquets, kept their hands

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps "nothing that was his own," in the sense that Viriathus really owned it anyway. But the entire sentence is difficult and probably corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> The implication seems to be that he did not wait to be served.

<sup>5</sup> So Dindorf: ἄδειαν V.

<sup>6</sup> So Dindorf: εἰ V.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

πῶς τῆς τούτων πολυτελείας ἀπείχοντο, δυνάμενοι ταῦτ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν; τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι πολλῶν εἰδότην<sup>1</sup> οὐδεὶς ἐπεβάλετο λαβεῖν ἢ αἰτῆσαι, Τί οὖν, εἶπεν, ἀνθρῶπε, διδόντων σοι τὴν ἀδειαν καὶ τὴν ἀσφαλῆ τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν κρατούντων, καταλιπὼν τούτους ἐπεθύμησας τῆς ἐμῆς ἀγραυλίας καὶ ἀγενείας οἰκεῖος γενέσθαι;

5 Ἦν δὲ οὗτος κατὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας<sup>2</sup> εὐστοχος, ὥς ἂν ἐξ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου φύσεως φέρων τοὺς λόγους· καὶ γὰρ τῶν τὴν Τύκκην οἰκούντων οὐδέποτε μενόντων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως, ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὅτε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίσταμένων, καὶ πολλὰκις τοῦτο πραττόντων, αἰὼν τινα διελθὼν οὐκ ἀσόφως ἔσκωψεν ἄμα καὶ ἐπέπληξε

6 τὸ τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν ἀβέβαιον. ἔφη γάρ τινα μέσον ἦδη τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα γαμῆσαι δύο γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν μὲν νεωτέραν ἐξομοιοῦν ἑαυτῇ φιλοτιμουμένην τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς πολὺς ἐκτίλλειν αὐτοῦ, τὴν δὲ γραιὴν τὰς μελαίνας, καὶ πέρας ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτὸν ἐκτιλλόμενον ταχὺ γενέσθαι φαλακρόν. τὸ παραπλήσιον δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὴν Τύκκην οἰκοῦσιν ἔσεσθαι· τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ἀποκτεινόντων<sup>3</sup> τοὺς ἄλλοτριῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας, τῶν δὲ Λυσιτανῶν ἀναιρούντων τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐχθρούς,

7 ταχὺ τὴν πόλιν ἐρημωθήσεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἑτερά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν βραχείᾳ<sup>4</sup> ἀποφθέγξασθαι, τῆς μὲν ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἀπειρον ὄντα, πρακτικῇ δὲ συνέσει πεπαιδευμένον· ἄνδρὸς γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῶντος σύντομος λόγος ἐστὶν ἀρετῇ συνησκη-

off such valuables, though it was in their power to wrest them from you?" When Astolpas replied that no one had ever moved to seize or ask for them, though many knew of their existence, he said: "Then why in the world, man, if the authorities granted you immunity and the secure enjoyment of these things, did you desert them and choose to ally yourself with my nomadic life and my humble company?"

This was, indeed, a man who in conversation went straight to the mark, since his words flowed from an untutored and unspoilt nature. So, for example, à propos of the people of Tucca,<sup>1</sup> who never stuck to the same course, but went over now to the Romans, now to him, and often repeated these moves, he told a story that subtly rallied, and at the same time rebuked their uncertainty of purpose. There was, he said, a certain middle-aged man who took two wives. The younger, eager to have her husband resemble her, pulled out his grey hairs, while the old woman pulled out the black ones, until between them he was soon left quite bald.<sup>2</sup> A similar fate, he said, would be in store for the people of Tucca; for as the Romans put to death those who were at odds with them and the Lusitanians did away with their enemies, the city would soon be left empty. He is said to have made many other pithy remarks as well, for though he had had no formal education, he was schooled in the understanding of practical affairs. For the speech of one who lives according to nature is concise, being a by-product of virtuous

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same as Itucca of Appian, *Hisp.* 66.

<sup>2</sup> For the fable see Perry, *Aesopica*, I. 333, no. 31.

<sup>3</sup> So Herwerden: ἀποκτεινάντων (apparently) V.

<sup>4</sup> So Mai: βραχύσι V.

<sup>1</sup> ἰδόντων Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> So Wesseling (on chap. 7. 3): ἀπολογίας V.

μένος, τὸ δὲ ἀφελεία λόγου βραχέως καὶ ἀπερίττως ῥηθὲν τοῦ μὲν εἰπόντος ἀπόφθεγμα γίνεται, τοῦ δὲ ἀκούσαντος ἀπομνημόνευμα.

8. "Οτι φιλεῖ ἡ μὲν ἀσθένεια καὶ ταπεινότης αἰετὴν λιτὴν αὐτάρκειαν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ἡ δὲ ὑπεροχὴ τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀδικίας παρανομίαν.  
(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 382.)

9. "Οτι ὁ Δημήτριος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ διατρίβων ῥαθύμως διῆγε, πότους τε συνάγων καὶ ταῖς πολυτελεστάταις ἀπολαύσεσιν ἐκκεχυμένως χρώμενος. ὁμοίως δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁ αὐτὸς διέμεινεν εἰς πολλοὺς εἰκῇ παρανομῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων διορθωθῆναι.

10. "Οτι οἱ Κνώσιοι τῶν πρωτείων ἀντείχοντο. προῆγεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἡγεμονίας φιλοτιμίαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡ διαβεβοημένη<sup>1</sup> δόξα κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς χρόνους· τὸν τε γὰρ Δία παρ' αὐτοῖς τεθράφθαι<sup>2</sup> μυθολογοῦσιντες καὶ Μίνω τὸν θαλαττοκρατήσαντα Κνώσιον ὄντα παιδευθῆναι ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῇ διενεγκεῖν.  
(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 297.)

11. "Οτι κατὰ τὸν μῦθον τὸν λεγόμενον περὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὡς ἔθετο ἄρὰν κατὰ τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων εἰς Κρήτην στρατιωτῶν, παλαιὰ διαμένει παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶ παροιμία δι' ἐνὸς στίχου μνηύουσα τὴν νῦν γενηθείσαν περιπέτειαν,

Αἰαῖ, Περγάμιοι παρὰ τοι κακὸν ἡγήσαντο.<sup>3</sup>

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 383.)

<sup>1</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius : διαβεβαημένη P.

<sup>2</sup> So Büttner-Wobst : τετραφθαι (*s. acc.*) P.

pursuits ; and when a thing is stated simply, briefly, and without frills, the speaker is credited with a pointed saying, while the hearer has something to remember.

8. Weakness and a lowly status in life foster a frugal self-sufficiency and honesty, but a lofty estate goes hand in hand with self-aggrandizement and a disregard for law that is rooted in dishonesty.

9. Demetrius, during his stay at Laodiceia, spent <sup>145/4 B.C.</sup> his time idly, giving drinking parties and lavishly indulging in the most costly pleasures. So too his public conduct remained unchanged, in that he continued to commit random outrages on many persons and was incapable of profiting by his reverses to mend his ways.

10. The men of Cnossos clung stubbornly to their primacy. What prompted them to ambitions of leadership was the ancient repute of their city and the widespread fame of their ancestors in the heroic age. For Zeus, as some tell the tale, was reared among them, and Minos, the sea-lord, who was a Cnossian, was educated by Zeus and far surpassed all other men in valiancy.

11. In keeping with the tale told about Agamemnon, how he laid a curse on the soldiers left behind in Crete, there is still current among the Cretans an ancient proverb, which in a single verse prophesies the unexpected disaster that now took place :

Alas, the men of Pergamus were heedless of ruin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the various stories connecting Cretan Pergamus with Agamemnon or with Troy cp. Servius on *Aen.* 3. 133 and Velleius Paterculus, 1. 1. 2.—The precise occasion for the references to Crete at this point in the narrative is not known.

<sup>3</sup> πρᾶτοι κακοῦ ἀγάσαντο Herwerden.



12. "Οτι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τὸν Πτολεμαῖον διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν οὐ μετρίως ἐμίσει τὸ πλῆθος. παράλληλος γὰρ ὁ τοῦτου τρόπος πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Φιλομήτορος θεωρούμενος οὐδὲ σύγκρισιν ἐπέδεχeto διὰ τὰς παρ' ἀμφοτέρους ὑπερβολάς, τοῦ μὲν ἐπικεικίας, τοῦ δὲ ὠμότητος καὶ μαιφονίας. διὸ τὰ πλῆθη καὶ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς μεταβολὴν οἰκείως ἔχοντα τὸν τῆς ἀποστάσεως<sup>2</sup> ἐκαραδόκει καιρόν.

13. "Οτι Πτολεμαίου κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν ἐνθρονιζομένου τοῖς βασιλείοις κατὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων νόμους, παῖς ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάρας τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἡσθεῖς δὲ διαφερόντως προσηγόρευσε τὸν παῖδα Μεμφίτην ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καθ' ἣν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦντος ἐγεννήθη. ἄγων δὲ παιδογόνια καὶ τῇ συνήθει μαιφονία χρώμενος προσέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς συγκαταγαγόντας μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἐγκαλουμένους δὲ ἐπὶ τισι δικαίαις παρρησίαις διὰ τὴν παλλακὴν Εἰρήνην. (Ζήτει ἐν τῷ Περὶ Γάμων.)

14. "Οτι Διήγυλις ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλεὺς παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ παραδόξως αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρεόντων, οὐκέτι τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ὡς φίλων καὶ συμμάχων ἤρχεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀργυρωνήτων ἀνδραπόδων ἢ πολεμίων αἰχμαλώτων ὡμῶς<sup>3</sup> ἐδέεσποζεν. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς

<sup>1</sup> διὸ καὶ τὰ πλῆθη Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἀποκαταστάσεως P.

<sup>3</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: ὁμῶς (s. acc.) P.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek text refers us for the sequel to the Constantinian collection of historical excerpts *On Marriages*, which

12. The Egyptian populace cherished a deep hatred for Ptolemy because of his brutality towards his subjects and his lawless conduct. For when his character was considered side by side with that of Philometor it did not even admit of comparison, since each of the two went to an extreme, the one of equity, the other of bloodthirsty brutality. Therefore the populace was ripe for a change and awaited the proper moment to revolt.

13. While Ptolemy was being enthroned in his<sup>144</sup> B.C. palace at Memphis in accordance with Egyptian custom, Cleopatra bore the king a son. Exceedingly pleased, he surnamed the child Memphites, after the city in which he was performing sacrifice when the child was born. During the birth festival, indulging his usual thirst for blood he ordered the execution of the Cyreneans who had accompanied him on his return to Egypt, but were now under accusation for certain frank and honest statements because of his concubine, Irenê.<sup>1</sup>

14. When Diēgylis, the king of the Thracians,<sup>2</sup> ascended the throne and the tide of fortune was flowing in his favour beyond all expectations, he ceased to govern his subjects as friends and comrades-in-arms, but lorded it over them harshly as if they were bought slaves or captive foes. Many were the

is not preserved.—The mother of Memphites was Cleopatra II. A few years later Physcon also married her daughter (by Philometor), Cleopatra III. Irenê is mentioned also in Josephus, *Against Apion*, 2. 55.—For the cruelty of Physcon see, e.g., Justin, 38. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Diēgylis was a chieftain of the Thracian Caeni, and son-in-law to Prusias of Bithynia. The date of his "accession" is uncertain, but his conflict with Attalus II can be dated to 145 B.C. (cp. E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, 131-132).



ἄνδρας Θρακῶν ἀνείλε μετ' αἰκίας, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ ὕβριζεν καὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις παροινοῖαις περιέβαλλεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὐ γυναικὸς οὐ παιδὸς αὐτῷ κάλλος ἄθικτον, οὐ κατασκευὴ κτημάτων πολυτελὲς ἀναφαίρετος, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν δυναστείαν  
<sup>2</sup> ἐπλήρου παρανομίας. ἐπόρθει δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τὰς πλησιοχώρους καὶ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων οὓς μὲν ὕβριζεν, οὓς δὲ δειναῖς καὶ παρηλλαγμέναις αἰκίαις ἐτιμωρεῖτο. κυριεύσας δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς πόλεως Λυσιμαχείας, τεταγμένης ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀτταλον, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν, τῶν δὲ αἰχμαλώτων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους ἰδίας καὶ παρηλλαγμέναις κατ' αὐτῶν ἐχρήσατο τιμω-  
<sup>3</sup> ρίαις. παίδων μὲν γὰρ ἀποκόπτων χεῖρας καὶ πόδας καὶ κεφαλὰς ἐξῆπτε ταῦτα φέρειν τοῖς τῶν γονέων τραχήλοις, ἀνδρῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκταμῶν<sup>1</sup> διήλλαττεν ἀμφοτέρων τὰ μέλη, καὶ τινὰς μὲν χειροκοπήσας διεμέλιζεν τὰ σώματα κατὰ ῥάχιν, ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰς διακοπὰς ἐπ' ἅκραις ταῖς λόγχαις ἔφερεν,<sup>2</sup> ὡς Φάλαριν καὶ τὸν Κασσανδρέων τύραννον Ἀπολλόδωρον ὑπερβάλλειν ὁμότητι. παραλιπὼν δ' ἂν τις τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν μαιφονίας ἐξ ἐνὸς τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι τεκμήραιτο τὴν ὑπερ-  
<sup>4</sup> βολὴν τῆς ὁμότητος. γάμων ἀγομένων τούτῳ κατὰ τι Θρακικὸν παλαιὸν ἔθος δύο νεανίσκους Ἑλλήνας ἐκ τῆς Ἀτταλικῆς βασιλείας καθ' ὁδοπορίαν συνήρπασεν, ἀδελφοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχοντας, τῇ δὲ εὐπρεπείᾳ διαφόρους, τὸν μὲν ἱουλὸν κατὰγοντα, τὸν δὲ ὑπογραφὴν ἄρτι λαμβάνοντα ταύτης τῆς  
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fine, noble Thracians he tortured and put to death, and many were the victims of his abusive treatment and unbridled violence. There was no woman, no boy whose beauty he left intact, no rich store of possessions that was left undiminished: the whole realm was full of his lawlessness. He ravaged also the Greek cities along his borders, and the captives were subjected to his outrages or punished with terrible and exquisite tortures. Becoming master of Lysimacheia, a city subject to Attalus, he set the city afire, and picking out the most prominent of the captives visited them with peculiar and outlandish punishments. He would, for example, cut off the hands and feet and heads of children and hang them about their parents' necks to wear, or cut off the parts of husbands and wives and exchange them; at times, after lopping off his victims' hands, he would split them down the spine, and on occasion would even carry the hewn halves on the points of spears, whereby he surpassed in cruelty Phalaris and the tyrant of Cassandreia, Apollodorus.<sup>1</sup> Even leaving out of account all the rest of his bloodthirstiness, one could judge of his surpassing cruelty by the single instance now to be related. In the course of celebrating his marriage according to ancient Thracian usage, he seized two young travellers, Greeks from the kingdom of Attalus, a pair of brothers, both strikingly handsome, one with the first down sprouting on his cheeks, the other just

<sup>1</sup> For Phalaris see Book 9. 18-19, for Apollodorus, Book 22. 5.

<sup>2</sup> So Post: ἐκατέρων P.

<sup>2</sup> So Nock: φέρειν P; Reiske supplies ἐκέλευε or προσέταττε.

ἔακμῆς. τούτους ἀμφοτέρους καταστέψας ἱερείου τρόπον εἰσήγαγε, καὶ τὸν μὲν νεώτερον κατατείνας μακρόν διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὡς μέσον διακόψων, ἀνεφώνησεν ὡς οὐχ ὁμοίοις<sup>1</sup> ἱερείοις δεῖ χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς. κλαίοντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ φιλάδελφον πάθος προφαίνοντος καὶ τιθέντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν σίδηρον, προσέταξεν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῦτον ὁμοίως τείναι μακρόν. διπλασιάζων δὲ τὴν ὀμότητα καὶ μᾶ πλῆγῃ καθ' ἑκατέρου<sup>2</sup> χρῆσάμενος ἐν ἀμφοτέροις εὐστόχησε, παιᾶνι τῶν θεωμένων ἐπισημηνάντων τὴν κατόρθωσιν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παράνομα ἐποίησεν.

15. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀτταλος ἀκούων τὸν Διήγγυλιν παρὰ τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις διαβεβλήσθαι διὰ τε τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ὀμότητος ἐξήλωσε τὴν ἐναντίαν προαίρεσιν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους τῶν Θρακῶν ἀπολύων μετὰ φιλάνθρωπίας πολλοὺς ἔσχε κήρυκας τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιεικείας. ἃ δὲ πυνθανόμενος ὁ Διήγγυλις τῶν μὲν ἀποχωρούντων τοὺς ὁμήρους δειναῖς ὕβρεσι καὶ παρανόμοις αἰκίαις περιέβαλλεν, ὧν ἦσαν τινες τῶν ἀσθενεστάτων παιδῶν ἡλικία καὶ φύσει. καὶ γὰρ τούτων οἱ μὲν διαμεμελισμένοι τὰ σώματα ποικίλως, οἱ δὲ κεφαλὰς καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἀφηρημένοι· καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ σκόλοφιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ δένδρεσιν<sup>3</sup> ἀνήρτηντο. οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνεπτυγμένας<sup>4</sup> τὰ σώματα πρὸς ὕβριν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ θανάτου συμφοραῖς προκειμένας, καὶ παν-

acquiring a suggestion of this bloom. Having garlanded them both like sacrificial victims he brought them in, and when he had had his attendants stretch out the younger at full length, as if to split him down the middle, he exclaimed that it was not right for kings and commoners to use the same kind of victims. When the older youth wailed, displaying a brotherly affection, and threw himself beneath the axe, the king ordered the attendants to stretch him out as well. His cruelty then redoubled, he aimed a single blow at each, and both times drove it home, while the spectators raised the paean to signal his success. And many other crimes as well did he commit.

15. Attalus,<sup>1</sup> hearing how Diëgyilis was hated by his subjects because of his rapacity and his extreme cruelty, affected a policy that was just the opposite. Accordingly, by treating the Thracians who were taken captive with humanity and setting them free, he enlisted many voices to proclaim his mercy. Diëgyilis, on learning of this, inflicted terrible outrages and cruel tortures on the hostages left by any who absconded, among them children of very tender years and delicate constitution. For even these were torn limb from limb by every possible means, or had their heads, hands, and feet chopped off. Some of them were impaled on stakes, others exposed on trees. Women—and not a few only—were to be seen with bodies spread-eagled and offered for outrage in addition to the fate of death, being made

<sup>1</sup> Attalus II, king of Pergamum 160/59–139/8 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> So Salmasius, Wesseling: ἀνεπτυγμένας P.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ added by Wesseling. Dindorf reads ἰδεῖν καὶ . . . προκειμένας παντοίας.

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: ὁμοίως P, ὁμοίως Salmasius.

<sup>2</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: καθετέρου P.

<sup>3</sup> σκόλοφι . . . δένδρεσι P.

τοίας διαθέσεις αἰσχύνῃς ἐξ ὑπερηφανίας βαρβάρων συντετελεσμένας, αἱ τοῖς μὲν πράξασιν<sup>1</sup> ὠμότητος ἀναισχύντου δείγμα προέκειντο,<sup>2</sup> τῶν δὲ<sup>3</sup> θεωρούντων καὶ τὸν ἡμέρον ἔχόντων λογισμὸν πολλοὺς ἐξ-εκαλοῦντο πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἡτυχηκότων ἔλεον.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 298-300.)

16. "Ὅτι Νομαντῖνοι καὶ Τερμήσσιοι περὶ διαλύσεως διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τούτοις· δοῦναι τῶν πόλεων ἑκατέραν Ῥωμαίοις ὀμήρους τριακοσίους, σάγους ἑνακισχιλίους, βύρσας τρισχιλίας, ἵππους πολεμιστὰς ὀκτακοσίους, ὅπλα πάντα· καὶ ταῦτα πράξαντας φίλους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους. ταχθείσης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα συντελεῖν ἔδει τὰς πόλεις, <sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας πάντα ἐτέλεσαν. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἔδει τὴν τῶν ὀπλων παράδοσιν ποιήσασθαι, ὀδυρμὸς τις εὐγενῆς ἦν καὶ παράστασις ψυχῆς πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἐνέπεσε τοῖς πλήθεσιν. διὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐδεινοπάθουν, εἰ γυναικῶν τρόπον γυμνώσουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ὀπλων. μεταμελόμενοι δὲ τοῖς ψηφισθεῖσιν ἀλλήλους κατεμέμφοντο, καὶ πατέρες μὲν νιοῖς<sup>4</sup> ἐνεκάλουν, παῖδες δὲ γονεῦσι, γυναῖκες δὲ ἀνδράσι. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διάθεσιν ἀναδραμόντες καὶ τῶν ὀπλων οὐ παραχωρήσαντες ἀνεκαίνισαν τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 406.)

17. "Ὅτι τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην Λαγνὶ καὶ ταύτην πολιορκούντος, οἱ

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: *πραξασιν* (*s. acc.*) P.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius: *προέκειντο* P.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ added by Valesius.

to assume every shameful position that the arrogance of barbarians could suggest. Thus the victims were presented to their violators as the demonstration of a shameless savagery, but provoked many who were onlookers with a capacity for civilized reflection to feelings of pity for the hapless creatures.

16. When Numantia and Termessus sent envoys <sup>143 B.C. or later.</sup> to the Romans to discuss the cessation of hostilities, the Romans granted them peace<sup>1</sup> on the following terms: each city was to surrender to the Romans three hundred hostages, nine thousand cloaks, three thousand hides, eight hundred war-horses, and all their arms; this done, they would be "friends and allies." A day having been set for the cities to comply, they duly fulfilled all the terms of the agreement. But when last of all they were required to surrender their arms, there was an outburst of noble lamentation as a frenzy of independence swept over the crowd. It was an outrage, they complained to one another, if they were to strip themselves of arms, like so many women. Repenting of their decision, they engaged in mutual reproaches, and fathers accused sons, children their parents, wives their husbands. Reverting, therefore, to their original disposition and refusing to give up their arms, they renewed the conflict with the Romans.

17. When Pompeius<sup>2</sup> advanced against the city <sup>140 B.C.</sup> called Lagni and laid it under siege, the Numantians,

<sup>1</sup> This is probably not the "*pacem infirmatam*" of Livy, *Per.* 54 (cp. Appian, *Hisp.* 79), made by Pompeius in 141, as the terms do not seem to agree. Termessus is perhaps identical with the Termantia of Appian, *Hisp.* 76.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Pompeius, the consul of 141 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> So Ursinus: *νιοῦς* O.



Νουμαντίνοι βουλόμενοι βοηθήσαι τοῖς ὁμοεθνήσιν  
ἐπεμψαν στρατιώτας τετρακοσίους νυκτός. οἱ τού-  
τους ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι σωτήρας ἀπεκάλουν καὶ  
δωρεαῖς ἐτίμων. μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας κατα-  
πλαγέντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν προδιδόντες τοῖς σώμασιν  
2 ἵπτον ἀσφάλειαν. τοῦ δὲ Πομπηίου δόντος ἀπό-  
κρισιν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ποιήσαιτο<sup>2</sup> πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
ὁμολογίας, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον ἐκδώσουσι<sup>3</sup> τοὺς συμ-  
μάχους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντρεπόμενοι τὸ πρὸς τοὺς  
εὐεργέτας ἀνόμημα διεκαρτέρουν· τοῦ δὲ δεινοῦ  
πλησίον ὄντος διεπρεσβεύοντο, καὶ τῇ τῶν φίλων  
ἀπωλείᾳ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρουν περιποιή-  
σασθαι.<sup>4</sup> οὐ μὴν ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς ἐπιβουλευμένους,  
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μαθόντες πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ  
3 νυκτός τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθέμενοι πολὺν ἐποί-  
ουν φόνον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τοῦ θορύβου αἰσθόμενος  
καὶ κλίμακας προσερείσας τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκυρίευσεν  
τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐγενεῖς<sup>5</sup> ἅπαντας  
ἀπέσφαξεν, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ὄντας διακοσίους  
τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπέλυσε τῶν κινδύνων, ἅμα μὲν ἐλε-  
ήσας κινδυνεύουσιν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἀκλη-  
ροῦντας γενόμενον<sup>6</sup> πάθος δι' ἀχαριστίαν, ἅμα δὲ  
τὴν Νουμαντίνων<sup>7</sup> εὐνοίαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόρρω-  
θεν ἐκκαλούμενος ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις τὴν δὲ πόλιν  
κατέσκαψεν.

18. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀρσάκης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιείκειαν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> οἱ P, Büttner-Wobst: οἱ δὲ Wesseling, Dindorf, ἡ δὲ Valesius.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ποιήσονται P.

<sup>3</sup> So Valesius: ἐκδώσουσι P.

<sup>4</sup> So Reiske: περιποιήσαι P.

<sup>5</sup> ἐγγενεῖς Reiske.

<sup>6</sup> So Dindorf: γινόμενον P.

wishing to succour their countrymen, sent four hundred soldiers under cover of night. The inhabitants, welcoming them with delight, called them "saviours" and honoured them with gifts. A few days later, however, overcome with fear, they offered to yield the city and sought assurances of safety for their persons. Now when Pompeius replied that he would not make terms with them unless they first surrendered their allies, they at first held out, scrupling to wrong their benefactors. But as the situation grew desperate, they resumed negotiations and attempted to secure their own safety by the destruction of their friends. Their resolve did not, however, pass unnoticed by the intended victims, who, on learning what was afoot, prepared to defend themselves, and attacking the townsmen by night, spilled much blood. Pompeius, hearing the din, set ladders to the walls and seized the city. All the nobles he slaughtered, but he released from jeopardy the allies, two hundred in number, partly out of pity for their imperilled valour and for the mischance that had befallen these victims of ingratitude, and partly as a means of soliciting at long range the good will of the Numantians for the Romans. The city he razed to the ground.

18. King Arsaces,<sup>1</sup> by pursuing a set policy of

<sup>1</sup> Mithridates I Arsaces VI, the creator of the Parthian empire, who died in 138/7 B.C. The present fragment is no doubt prefatory to the account of the expedition led against him in 140 B.C. by the youthful Demetrius II Nicator. After some early successes Demetrius was taken captive, and remained in Parthian hands until 129 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> So Wesseling: Νουμαντίων P, Νομαντίνων Büttner-Wobst.

φιλανθρωπίαν ζηλώσας αὐτομάτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπι-  
ροίαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείον  
ἡύξησε· μέχρι γὰρ<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἰνδικῆς διατείνας τῆς ὑπὸ  
τὸν Πῶρον γενομένης χώρας ἐκυρίευσεν ἀκινδύ-  
νως. εἰς τηλικούτο δὲ μέγεθος προαχθεὶς βασιλείας  
οὐκ ἐζήλωσε τρυφὴν οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίαν, ἅπερ ταῖς  
πλείστοις δυναστείαις ἀκολουθεῖν εἴωθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπι-  
είκειαν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους, ἀνδρείαν δὲ  
πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους. καθόλου δὲ πολλῶν ἐθ-  
νῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἄριστα  
κατέδειξε τῶν νομίμων τοῖς Πάρθοις.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 300.)

19. "Ὅτι ὁ ὕπατος Ποπίλλιος Ὑριάθου περὶ δια-  
λέξεως ἀξιοῦντος ἔκρινε προστάττειν καθ' ἕκαστα  
τῶν ἀρεσκόντων, ὅπως μὴ λεχθέντων ἀθρόον<sup>2</sup> ἀπο-  
γνοὺς ἀποθηριωθῇ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀκατάλλακτον.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 383.)

20. "Ὅτι Γαλαίστης τις Ἀθαμὰν τὸ γένος, υἱὸς  
δὲ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος Ἀθαμάνων,  
γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ πολὺ προέχων τῶν  
ὁμοεθνῶν, ἐγένετο φίλος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλομή-  
τορος· ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Δημήτριον μάχῃ τῶν δυνά-  
μεων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγεμῶν ἐγεγόνει.  
οὗτος μετὰ τὴν ἤτταν καὶ τελευτὴν Πτολεμαίου  
ἐλθὼν εἰς διαβολὰς ψευδεῖς ὡς ἐκουσίως τοῖς πολε-  
μίοις καταπροέμενος τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοῦ δια-  
δεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν Πτολεμαίου τὰς δωρεὰς  
ἀφελομένου καὶ χαλεπῶς διακειμένου πρὸς αὐτόν,

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ added by Valesius.

<sup>2</sup> ἀθρόων Hertlein.

<sup>1</sup> M. Popillius Laenas, consul in 139 B.C. With this frag-  
ment we may perhaps associate Dio, 22. 75.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Physcon. Galaestes is perhaps identical with the

clemency and humanity, won an automatic stream  
of advantages and further enlarged his kingdom. For  
he extended his power even to India, and without  
a battle brought under his sway the region once  
ruled by Porus. But, though raised to such heights  
of royal power, he did not cultivate luxury or arro-  
gance, the usual accompaniments of power, but prided  
himself on the exercise of equity towards those who  
accepted his rule and courage towards those who op-  
posed him. In short, having made himself master  
over many peoples, he taught the Parthians the best  
of the customs practised by each.

19. When Viriathus requested an interview, the <sup>139 B.C.</sup>  
consul Popillius<sup>1</sup> decided to state one by one the  
Roman demands, for fear that if they were men-  
tioned all at once, in desperation and fury he would  
be driven to implacable hostility.

20. A certain Galaestes, an Athamanian by birth  
and son of Amynder, the former king of the  
Athamanians, was a man far superior to his country-  
men in birth, wealth, and renown; he became the  
friend of Ptolemy Philometor, and in the struggle  
against Demetrius had served as commander of the  
Alexandrian forces. Now after the defeat and death  
of Ptolemy false charges were levelled against him,  
that he had wilfully betrayed the Egyptian cause to  
the enemy, and when the Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> who inherited  
the kingdom stripped him of his estates and showed  
himself ill-disposed towards him, he took fright and

Γαλέτης, the favourite of one of the Ptolemies, of whom a  
pleasant anecdote is recorded in Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 1. 30.  
The position of the present fragment is not secure, but it falls  
in the period 145–139 B.C., and chap. 22 suggests that a late  
date is likely. For the episode see Otto-Bengtson, *Abh.*  
*München*, N.F. 17 (1938), 36 ff.

φοβηθεὶς ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἐκπεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ὀψωνιαζομένους στρατιώτας στάσιν, ἀνέλαβε τοὺς φυγάδας. φήσας δὲ ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλομήτορα δεδωκέναι παιδίον αὐτῷ τρέφειν ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ τούτῳ διάδημα περιθεῖς, καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἔχων πολλοὺς φυγάδας, παρεσκευάζετο κατάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῶν βασιλείαν τὸν παῖδα.

21. Ὅτι Αὐδας καὶ Διτάλκης<sup>1</sup> καὶ Νικορόντης ἐκ πόλεως Ὁρσωνος, οἰκῆοι δὲ ἀλλήλων καὶ φίλοι,<sup>2</sup> θεωροῦντες τὴν περὶ τὸν Ὑρίατθον ὑπεροχὴν καταπονουμένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν δείσαντες, καταθέσθαι τινὰ χάριν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔκριναν,<sup>3</sup> δι' ἧς ἑαυτοῖς περιποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. . .<sup>4</sup> ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὸν Ὑρίατθον ἐπιθυμοῦντα καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηγγείλαντο πείσειν Καιπίωνα συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν αὐτοὺς ἀπολύσῃ πρεσβευτὰς περὶ διαλύσεων. προθύμως δὲ τοῦ δυνάστου συγχωρήσαντος, οὗτοι μὲν συντόμως παραγενόμενοι<sup>5</sup> πρὸς τὸν Καιπίωνα ῥαδίως ἔπεισαν δοῦναι σφισιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπαγγελλομένοις δολοφονήσῃν τὸν Ὑρίατθον. δόντες οὖν καὶ λαβόντες περὶ τούτων πίστει ταχέως ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν· εἰπόντες δὲ πεπεικέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς ἤγαγον τὸν Ὑρίατθον, σπεύδοντες τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐννοίας ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ὥς

<sup>1</sup> So Müller: Διτάλκης S.

<sup>2</sup> So Feder, Müller: φίλου S.

<sup>3</sup> So Feder, Müller: ἔκρινεν S.

departed for Greece. As many others besides were being banished from Egypt because of the strife with the mercenary troops, he made the exiles welcome. Claiming that King Ptolemy Philometor had entrusted to him a son by Cleopatra to be reared as heir to the kingdom, he placed a diadem on the boy's head, and with a number of exiles as partisans of the cause made ready to restore him to his father's kingdom. 140/39 B.C.

21. Audas, Ditalces, and Nicorontes,<sup>1</sup> men of the city of Orso, all three close kinsmen and friends, observing that Viriathus' prestige was suffering under the Roman blows and apprehensive on their own score, decided to establish some claim to favour with the Romans as a means of insuring their personal safety. Seeing that Viriathus was eager to bring the war to an end, they promised to persuade Caepio<sup>2</sup> to make peace, if Viriathus would send them as envoys to arrange a cessation of hostilities. When the chieftain gave his ready assent, they hastened to Caepio and easily persuaded him to grant them assurances of safety on their promise to assassinate Viriathus. After an exchange of pledges, they quickly returned to the camp, and asserting that they had won the consent of the Romans to the peace aroused Viriathus to high hopes—for they were eager to distract his mind as far as possible from any suspicion of the truth. 189 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Appian, whose account of the assassination (*Hisp.* 74) differs in some other details also, gives the names as Audax, Ditalco, and Minurus (cp. also Livy, *Per. Oxy.* 54).

<sup>2</sup> See above, note on chap. 1. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Müller suggests the addition of δύναντο.

<sup>5</sup> So Herwerden: γενόμενοι S.



πορρωτάτω. πιστευόμενοι<sup>1</sup> δ' ὑπ'<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν φιλίαν νυκτὸς ἔλαθον εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν παρεισελθόντες καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι διαχρησάμενοι τὸν Ὑριάθου πληγαῖς εὐκαίροις, ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἐκπηδήσαντες παραχρήμα διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἀνοδίας χρῆσάμενοι διεσώθησαν πρὸς Καίπιωνα.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 205-206.)

21a. "Ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ὑριάθου<sup>3</sup> ταφῆς παραδόξου καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἡξίωσαν καὶ διακοσίοις ζεύγεσι μονομάχων ἀγῶνα πρὸς τῷ τάφῳ συνετέλεσαν, τιμῶντες αὐτοῦ τὴν διαβεβοημένην ἀνδρείαν. ὁμολογουμένως γὰρ ἦν πολεμικώτατος μὲν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, στρατηγικώτατος δὲ ἐν τῷ προϋδέσθαι τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, διετέλεσε πάντα τὸν τῆς στρατηγίας χρόνον ἀγαπώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ληστείας διανομὰς οὐδὲν πλεόν ἀπεφέρετο τῆς τοῖς<sup>4</sup> ἰδιώταις ἐπιβαλλούσης μοίρας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῷ πορισθέντων ἔτιμα τοὺς ἀξίους χάριτος καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπελάμβανεν. ὑπῆρχε δὲ καὶ νήπτης καὶ ἀγρυπνητικὸς καὶ παντὸς πόνου καὶ κινδύνου κατεξανεστηκώς, ἔτι δὲ πάσης ἡδονῆς κρείττων. αἱ δὲ ἀποδείξεις τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἐμφανεῖς εἰσιν· ἔνδεκα γὰρ ἔτη δυναστεύοντος αὐτοῦ Λυσιτανῶν, οὐ μόνον αἱ δυνάμεις ἀστασίαστοι διέμειναν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνίκητοι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν τὸ σύστημα τῶν Λυσιτανῶν ἐκλύθη στερηθὲν τῆς τούτου προστασίας.

22. "Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος . . .<sup>5</sup> διὰ τὴν ὁμότητα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Feder, Müller: πιστευόμενος (?) S. De Boor's apparatus gives the reading as πιστευμενός.

<sup>2</sup> δ' ὑπ' Feder: δὲ S.

Since they were trusted by virtue of their friendship with Viriathus, they made their way unobserved into his tent by night, and having dispatched him with well-aimed strokes of the sword rushed at once from the camp, and by keeping to trackless mountain country escaped safely to Caepio.

21a. They<sup>1</sup> accorded the body of Viriathus a marvellous and resplendent burial, and by the tomb, in honour of his far-famed courage, held funeral games in which two hundred pairs of gladiators participated. By common consent he was a most valiant fighter in battle, and a most able general in foreseeing what would be advantageous; most important of all, throughout his entire career as a general he commanded the devotion of his troops to a degree unequalled by anyone. In the distribution of booty he took no more than the share apportioned to the common soldiers, and from what was assigned to him he rewarded the soldiers who merited thanks and succoured those who were in need. He was sober, tireless, and alert to every difficulty and danger; and he was superior to every pleasure. The proofs of his ability are manifest: for in the eleven years that he commanded the Lusitanians his troops not only remained free of dissension but were all but invincible, whereas after his death the confederacy of the Lusitanians disintegrated, once it was deprived of his leadership.

22. Ptolemy . . . because of his cruelty and thirst

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the army and his loyal attendants. Appian, *Hispan.* 75, adds some details.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: Ὑριάθου P, Οὐριάθου Valesius.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς τοῖς Salmasius, Valesius: τοῖς τῆς P.

<sup>5</sup> Lacuna indicated by Reiske, who suggests ἐμισθήθη.

μιαυφονίαν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀνέδην<sup>1</sup> τῶν αἰσχίστων ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀγεννὲς πάθος,<sup>2</sup> διὸ Φύσκων ἐκαλεῖτο. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς Ἰέραξ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις θαυμαστὸς ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐντεύξεις τοῖς ὄχλοις εὐθετος, ἔτι δὲ μεγαλόψυχος, συνέσχε τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου<sup>3</sup> βασιλείαν. τούτου γὰρ ἀπορουμένου χρημάτων, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν βουλομένων ἀφίστασθαι πρὸς Γαλαίστην διὰ τὸ μὴ κομίζεσθαι τοὺς μισθοὺς, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ὀψωνιάσας τὴν δύναμιν διωρθώσατο τὴν ὅλην μεταβολήν.

23. Ὅτι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου παντελῶς οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι κατεφρόνησαν, ὁρῶντες ἐν τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ὄντα παιδαριώδη καὶ πρὸς τὰς αἰσχίστας ἡδονὰς ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν τὸ σῶμα γυναικῶδες περιπεποιημένον. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 301.)

24. Ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἡ καλουμένη Κόντοβρις ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, οἱ κατὰ τὰς δεδομένας ἐντολὰς προὔλεγον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς χώρας πρὶν ἢ τι παθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς τολμήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τούσδε τοὺς τόπους πολεμικῇ δυνάμει πάντας ἀπολωλέναι. ὁ δὲ ὑπάτος τούτοις ἀπεκρίθη διότι Λυσιτανοὶ μὲν καὶ Κελτίβηρες μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀπειλεῖν<sup>4</sup> μεγάλα καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κολάζειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας καὶ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀπειλῶν· προσήκειν οὖν μὴ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: ἀναίδην P. <sup>2</sup> πάθος Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Valesius: του (s. acc.) πολέμου (s. acc.) P.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: ἀπολειπεῖν V.

for blood, and because of his unabashed enjoyment of the most shameful pleasures and his gross physical deformity (whence his nickname, "Pot-belly"). But his general, Hierax,<sup>1</sup> being a man of extraordinary talent in the arts of war, and having a gift for dealing with crowds, besides being open-hearted, held together the kingdom of Ptolemy. Thus, when Ptolemy's funds were low and the soldiers were inclined to go over to Galaestes because they were not paid,<sup>2</sup> by providing for the army from his private purse he brought the movement to an end.

23. The Egyptians utterly despised Ptolemy, for they saw that he was childish in dealing with people, that he had abandoned himself to the most shameful pleasures, and that he had grown physically effeminate through self-indulgence.

24. The city known as Contobris sent envoys to the Romans, who, in accordance with their instructions, ordered the Romans to quit the region with all possible speed before some disaster befell them, inasmuch as all others who had had the temerity to invade those areas with a hostile army had perished to a man. The consul replied that though the Lusitanians and Celtiberians were much given to great threats and encroachments, the Romans made it their practice to punish wrongdoers and to disregard threats: accordingly, it would become them to demonstrate their valour not with threats but

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the same Hierax who had been in the service of Alexander Balas, above chap. 3 and Book 32. 9c. According to Poseidonius (Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 87, fr. 4) a Hierax of Antioch was the favourite first of Philometor, then of Euergetes, by whom he was eventually put to death; this may be the same man, but the identification is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> See above, chap. 20.

δείκνυσθαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ἥς δὴ πείραν λήψεσθαι τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην.

25. Ἐκρίνε κρείττον εἶναι μαχομένους ἀποθανεῖν ἐπιφανῶς ἢ γυμνὰ τὰ σώματα τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν αἰσχίστην παραδοῦναι δουλείαν.

26. Ὁ δὲ Ἰούνιος παρακαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰ καὶ ποτε, νῦν ἀνδραγαθήσαι καὶ τῶν προγεγονότων κατορθωμάτων ἀξίους φανῆναι. . . ὅμως οὐκ ἔκαμνον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, κατισχύοντος τοῦ λογισμοῦ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθένειαν.

2 Ὅτι διεδόθη ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπραττομένους<sup>1</sup> ἀπαραίτητος τιμωρία, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πειθαρχοῦντας ἡ τῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς ὑπερβολή.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 383.)

27. Ὅτι ὁ Αἰμίλιος ὁ ὑπάτος διὰ τὴν βαρύτητα<sup>2</sup> καὶ δυσκινήσιαν τοῦ σώματος τῇ διὰ τὸν ὄγκον ὑπεροχῇ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν περιεχυμένων σαρκῶν ἀχρηστος ἦν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐνεργείαις.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 301-302.)

28. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Διόδοτος ὁ Τρύφων ἐπικαλούμενος ἀννηρικῶς Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τρεφόμενον, παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα, περιέθετο διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ κρατήσας ἔρημον αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> ἀνηγόρευσε βασιλέα, καὶ κατὰ<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἀντιπραττομένους Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> βραδύτητα Herwerden (cp. Book 31. 38).

<sup>3</sup> περιέθετο διάδημα, τῆς βασιλείας κρατήσας ἔρημου, καὶ αὐτὸν Hertlein.

with actions, and, indeed, their valour would be put to the most precise test.<sup>1</sup>

25. He considered it better for them to fight and meet death gloriously than to submit their persons, stripped of arms, to a most shameful slavery.

26. Iunius<sup>2</sup> exhorted his soldiers now, if ever, to 138/7 B.C. acquit them like men and to show themselves worthy of their former successes. . . Nevertheless, their hearts did not falter, for the power of reason prevailed over their physical weakness.

Word was spread abroad of the inexorable vengeance of the Romans on those who opposed them, and of their outstandingly fair treatment of those who obeyed their commands.<sup>3</sup>

27. The consul Aemilius<sup>4</sup> was ineffectual in the 137/6 B.C. pursuits of war because of his physical bulk and lack of agility, what with his excess of weight and his great rolls of flesh.

28. In Syria Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, having c. 138 B.C. murdered Antiochus, the son of Alexander, a mere child who was being reared as one destined to the throne,<sup>5</sup> put on his own head the royal diadem and, having seized the vacant throne, proclaimed himself

<sup>1</sup> The date can be determined only by the position of the fragment in the collection *De Sententiis*.

<sup>2</sup> D. Iunius Brutus, consul in 138 B.C. He commanded the armies in Farther Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 853: "parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."

<sup>4</sup> M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina, consul in 137 B.C. He replaced his colleague Mancinus in Hither Spain.

<sup>5</sup> Tryphon had at first ruled jointly with Antiochus VI Epiphanes, but dethroned the boy-king perhaps as early as 142 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> κατὰ added by Feder, Müller.



τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους πολεμεῖν ἐπειράτο. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἦν Διονύσιος ὁ Μῆδος, περὶ δὲ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα καὶ Παλαμῆδην, ἐν δὲ τῇ παρὰ θάλατταν Σελευκείᾳ Αἰσχυρίων, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν, Δημητρίου δὲ γυναῖκα τοῦ ζωγρηθέντος ὑπ' Ἀρσάκου.<sup>2</sup> (Const. Exc. 3, p. 206.)

28a. "Ὅτι Τρύφων ἐξ ἰδιώτου βασιλεὺς γεγωνῶς ἔσπευδε τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῷ διὰ δόγματος συγκλητικοῦ βεβαιῶσαι. διόπερ κατασκευάσας Νίκην χρυσὴν ἄγουσαν ὀλκὴν χρυσίνων<sup>3</sup> μυρίων ἐξάπ-έστειλε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς ταύτην κομιοῦντας τῷ δήμῳ. ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὸ λυσιτελεῖς, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐοιώνιστον εἶναι, προσδέξασθαι τὴν Νίκην, καὶ προσαγορευθῆναι βασιλέα. εὔρε δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον πάνν<sup>4</sup> πανουργοτέραν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀπάτη παρακρουμένους συνέσει καταστρατηγοῦσαν.<sup>5</sup> τὸ μὲν γὰρ δῶρον ἐδέξατο καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν μετὰ τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς ἐτήρησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ Τρύφωνος μεταχρηματίσασα τὴν δόσιν εἰς τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δολοφονηθέντα βασιλέα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐποίησατο. διὰ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως ἀνέδειξεν ἑαυτὴν μισοπονηροῦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀναιρέσει καὶ δωρεὰς ἀσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ προσδεχομένην.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τῶν Müller.

<sup>2</sup> So Müller: Ἀρσακίου S.

monarch and engaged in war on the satraps and generals of the legitimate king.<sup>1</sup> For in Mesopotamia there was Dionysius the Mede, in Coelê Syria Sarpedon and Palamedes, and in Seleuceia-by-the-sea Aeschrius, who had with him Queen Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius (whom Arsaces had taken captive).

28a. Tryphon, having risen from private estate to the kingship, was eager to strengthen his position by means of a senatorial decree. Accordingly, having prepared a golden statue of Victory, of the weight of ten thousand gold staters, he dispatched envoys to Rome to convey it to the Roman people. For he supposed that the Romans would accept the Victory, both because of its value and as an object of good omen, and would acclaim him as king. But he found that the senators were more cunning than himself and that they shrewdly outmanœuvred those who sought to mislead and deceive them. For the senate accepted the gift and secured the good omen together with the profit, but changed the attribution of the gift and in Tryphon's stead inscribed it with the name of the king whom he had assassinated. By this act the senate went on record as condemning the murder of the boy and as refusing the gifts of impious men.

<sup>1</sup> Literally "of the (king) of royal lineage," i.e. Demetrius II, whose queen (mentioned below) was Cleopatra Thea, mother of the murdered Antiochus VI by her previous marriage with Alexander Balas. Tryphon, the usurper, could make no claim to royal descent. For Sarpedon see Poseidonius (Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 87), fr. 29.

<sup>3</sup> χρυσίων Suidas, s.v. ἄγουσαν.

<sup>4</sup> Herwerden and Dindorf <sup>4</sup> delete πάνν.

<sup>5</sup> So Herwerden: καταμαρτυροῦσαν O.

<sup>6</sup> So Wesseling: προσδεχομένη O.

28b. Ὅτι ἦκον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν πρεσβευταὶ κατασκηψόμενοι τὴν ὅλην βασιλείαν. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ μεγάλης ἀπαντήσεως καὶ παρασκευῆς προσδεξάμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας τὰς τε ἐστιάσεις πολυτελεῖς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὰ βασιλεία περιάγων ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν βασιλικὴν γάζαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις ἀρετῇ διαφέροντες τοῖς μὲν βρωτοῖς ὀλίγοις καὶ πρὸς ὑγίαν διατείνουσι χρώμενοι κατεφρόνουν τῆς πολυτελείας, ὡς διαφθειρούσης καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως θαυματοποιησάμενοι<sup>1</sup> τὰ θέα ἀξία πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐπολυπραγμόνησαν ἀκριβῶς, τῆς πόλεως τὴν θέσιν καὶ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸν Φάρον ιδιότητας· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναπλεύσαντες εἰς Μέμφιν τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον εὐκαιρίας, τό τε πλήθος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον πόλεων καὶ τὰς ἀναριθμήτους τῶν οἰκητόρων μυριάδας καὶ τὴν ὄχυσότητα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ὅλην τῆς χώρας ὑπεροχὴν, ὡς εὖ διάκειται πρὸς ἡγεμονίας ἀσφάλειαν<sup>3</sup> τε καὶ μέγεθος. καὶ θαυμάσαντες τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ τῶν τόπων ἐπιτεύγματα διέλαβον μεγίστην ἡγεμονίαν δύνασθαι συσταθῆναι, τυχοῦσης τῆς βασιλείας ταύτης ἀξίω τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρεσβευταὶ κατασκηψάμενοι τὰ κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske: ἀξίαν ποιησαμένων Ο.

<sup>1</sup> P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus. The exact date of this famous embassy is a matter of dispute (cp. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1. 481, note

28b. Scipio Africanus<sup>1</sup> and his fellow ambassadors came to Alexandria to survey the entire kingdom. Ptolemy welcomed the men with a great reception and much pomp, held costly banquets for them, and conducting them about showed them his palace and other royal treasures. Now the Roman envoys were men of superior virtue, and since their normal diet was limited to a few dishes, and only such as were conducive to health, they were scornful of his extravagance as detrimental to both body and mind. The spectacle of all that the king considered marvellous they regarded as a side show of no real account, but busied themselves in detail with what was truly worth seeing: the situation and strength of the city, the unique features of the Pharos, then, proceeding up the river to Memphis, the quality of the land and the blessings brought to it by the Nile, the great number of Egyptian cities and the untold myriads of their inhabitants, the strong defensive position of Egypt, and the general excellence of the country, in that it is well suited to provide for the security and greatness of an empire. And when they had marvelled at the number of the inhabitants of Egypt and the natural advantages of its terrain, they apprehended that a very great power could be built there, if this kingdom should ever find rulers worthy of it.

Having surveyed Egypt, the envoys embarked for

2; A. E. Astin, *C.P.* 54 (1959), 221-227). Otto-Bengtson, *Abh. München*, N.F. 17 (1938), 38, would place the visit to Egypt in 140 or early 139 B.C., associating it with the Galaestes episode. The position of the fragment seems to indicate a date in or after 138 B.C., which would still be appropriate if the account is retrospective, following the embassy's return to Rome.

τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπὶ Κύπρου κακείθεν ἐπὶ Συρίας τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ἐποιήσαντο. καθόλου δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπήλθον, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι σώφρονα καὶ θαυμαστὴν ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἐπιδημίαν<sup>1</sup> μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχον, καὶ<sup>2</sup> μετ' εὐφημίας<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ πάντων συμφωνουμένης ἐπανήλθον. τῶν γὰρ ἐχόντων τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις οὓς μὲν διηλλάχσαν ἀλλήλοις, οὓς δ' ἐπεπείκεσαν τὰ δίκαια ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναισχυνοῦντας διὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης κατεστάλκεσαν, τοὺς δὲ δυσδιακρίτους ἀνεπεπόμφεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον. ὠμิลηκότες δὲ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δήμοις καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνανεωσάμενοι πρὸς εὖνοιαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπηύξησαν, καὶ πάντες ταῖς αἰρέσεσιν οἰκείως διατεθέντες ἑξαπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἐπήνεσαν ὅτι τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἐξέπεμψαν. (Const. Exc. 1, pp. 406-407.)

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske: ἀποδημίαν O.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ πλείστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπεληλυθότες after καὶ deleted by Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

Cyprus, and thence for Syria. In sum they traversed the greater part of the inhabited world, and on all sides, since they conducted their visit in sober fashion, worthy of wonder, they received a warm welcome, and returned home with plaudits in which all concurred. For where there were parties in dispute, some they had reconciled one to the other, some they had persuaded to do justice to those who had brought complaint; some who could not be abashed they had put under restraint, and those whose cases admitted of no easy decision they had referred to the senate. They had had dealings with kings and with popular governments, and by renewing the existing ties of friendship with one and all had enhanced, in terms of good will, the leadership of Rome. As a result all, having now been won over to a friendly attitude,<sup>1</sup> dispatched embassies to Rome and expressed appreciation that the Romans had sent out men of this stamp.

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, "having received the treatment that befitted their policies."

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς περὶ Σικελίωνα πρέσβεις after καὶ deleted by Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.



FRAGMENTA LIBRORUM XXXIV ET XXXV

1. Ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς, φησὶν, ἐπολιόρκει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι μέχρι μὲν τινος ἀντέσχον, ἐξαναλωθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπάντων ἠναγκάσθησαν περὶ διαλύσεως διαπρεσβεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ πλείους αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων συνεβούλευον κατὰ κράτος αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ γένος ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων· μόνους γὰρ ἀπάντων ἔθνῶν ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐπιμιξίας καὶ πολεμίους ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντας. ἀπεδείκνυν δὲ καὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ μισομένους ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου  
 2 πεφυγαδευμένους. τοὺς γὰρ ἀλφούς ἢ λέπρας ἔχοντας ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καθαρμοῦ χάριν ὡς ἑαγείς συναθροισθέντας ὑπερορίου ἐκβεβλήσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ἐξορισθέντας καταλαβέσθαι μὲν τοὺς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τόπους, συστησάμενους δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος παραδόσιμον ποιῆσαι τὸ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ νόμιμα παντελῶς ἐξηλλαγμένα καταδεῖξαι, τὸ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἔθνει τρα-  
 3 πέξης κοινωνεῖν μηδ' εὖνοεῖν τὸ παράπαν. ὑπέμνησαν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ προγενομένου μίσους

<sup>1</sup> Antiochus VII Euergetes (Sidetes), brother of Demetrius II. He assumed the throne in 139/8 B.C. after the capture of his brother by the Parthians. For the siege of Jerusalem see Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 13. 236 ff., and with this account of

FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXXIV AND XXXV

1. When King Antiochus,<sup>1</sup> says Diodorus, was 134 B.C. laying siege to Jerusalem, the Jews held out for a time, but when all their supplies were exhausted they found themselves compelled to make overtures for a cessation of hostilities. Now the majority of his friends advised the king to take the city by storm and to wipe out completely the race of Jews, since they alone of all nations avoided dealings with any other people and looked upon all men as their enemies. They pointed out, too, that the ancestors of the Jews had been driven out of all Egypt as men who were impious and detested by the gods. For by way of purging the country all persons who had white or leprous marks on their bodies had been assembled and driven across the border, as being under a curse; the refugees had occupied the territory round about Jerusalem, and having organized the nation of the Jews had made their hatred of mankind into a tradition, and on this account had introduced utterly outlandish laws: not to break bread with any other race, nor to show them any good will at all. His friends reminded Antiochus also of the enmity that in times past his ancestors had

Jewish origins, probably derived from Poseidonius (Jacoby, *FGH*, II C, pp. 196-199), cp. Tacitus, *Hist.* 5. 3-5. The explanation of the Exodus as a purge of lepers goes back to Manetho (Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1. 229).

τοῖς προγόνους πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος. Ἀντίοχος γὰρ ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς καταπολεμήσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἄδυτον τοῦ θεοῦ σηκόν, οἱ<sup>1</sup> νόμιμον εἰσιέναι μόνον τὸν ἱερέα· εὐρὺν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθινον ἄγαλμα ἀνδρὸς βαθυπώγωνος καθήμενον ἐπ' ὄνου, μετὰ χειρὰς ἔχον βιβλίον, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπέλαβε Μωυσέως εἶναι τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ συστησαμένου τὸ ἔθνος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις νομοθετήσαντος τὰ μισάνθρωπα καὶ παράνομα ἔθη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· αὐτὸς δὲ στυγήςας<sup>2</sup> τὴν μισανθρωπίαν πάντων ἔθνων ἐφιλοτιμήθη κατα-  
<sup>4</sup> λῦσαι τὰ νόμιμα. διὸ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ κτίστου καὶ τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ βωμῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλην ὕν θύσας, τὸ τε αἷμα προσέχεεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ κρέα σκευάσας προσέταξε τῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων ζωμῷ τὰς ἱεράς αὐτῶν βίβλους καὶ περιεχούσας τὰ μισόξενα νόμιμα καταρρᾶναι, τὸν δὲ ἀθάνατον λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς λύχνον καὶ καιόμενον ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν τῷ ναῷ κατασβέσαι, τῶν τε κρεῶν ἀναγκάσαι<sup>3</sup> προσενέγκασθαι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰουδαίους.

Ταῦτα δὴ διεξιόντες οἱ φίλοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον παρεκάλουν μάλιστα μὲν ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν τὸ ἔθνος, εἰ δὲ μή, καταλῦσαι τὰ νόμιμα καὶ συναναγκάσαι τὰς  
<sup>5</sup> ἀγωγὰς μεταθέσθαι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγαλόψυχος ὢν καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἡμερος, λαβὼν ὀμήρους ἀπέλυσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, φόρους τε τοὺς ὀφειλομένους πραξάμενος καὶ τὰ τείχη περιελὼν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. (Photius, *Bibl.* p. 379 B.)

<sup>1</sup> So Bekker: ἡ Α, οὐ cett.

<sup>2</sup> So Wetsten: στυγήςας MSS., συνοήσας Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> ἀναγκάσας A, ἡνάγκασε Reiske.

felt for this people. Antiochus, called Epiphanes, on defeating the Jews<sup>1</sup> had entered the innermost sanctuary of the god's temple, where it was lawful for the priest alone to enter. Finding there a marble statue of a heavily bearded man seated on an ass, with a book in his hands,<sup>2</sup> he supposed it to be an image of Moses, the founder of Jerusalem and organizer of the nation, the man, moreover, who had ordained for the Jews their misanthropic and lawless customs. And since Epiphanes was shocked by such hatred directed against all mankind, he had set himself to break down their traditional practices. Accordingly, he sacrificed before the image of the founder and the open-air altar of the god a great sow, and poured its blood over them. Then, having prepared its flesh, he ordered that their holy books, containing the xenophobic laws, should be sprinkled with the broth of the meat; that the lamp, which they call undying and which burns continually in the temple, should be extinguished; and that the high priest and the rest of the Jews should be compelled to partake of the meat.

Rehearsing all these events, his friends strongly urged Antiochus to make an end of the race completely, or, failing that, to abolish their laws and force them to change their ways. But the king, being a magnanimous and mild-mannered person, took hostages but dismissed the charges against the Jews, once he had exacted the tribute that was due and had dismantled the walls of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> In 169 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Against Apion*, 2. 79 ff., apparently attributes to Poseidonius or Apollonius Molon (or both) the authorship of a similar story related by Apion, in which, however, the figure was simply a golden ass's head.

2. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Καρχηδονίων κατάλυσιν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἑξήκοντα ἔτεσι τῶν Σικελῶν εὐροούντων ἐν πᾶσιν,  
 ὁ δουλικὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπανέστη πόλεμος ἐξ αἰτίας  
 τοιαύτης. ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς βίοις ἀναδραμόντες καὶ  
 μεγάλους περιποιησάμενοι πλούτους συνηγόραζον  
 οἰκετῶν πλήθος, οἷς ἐκ τῶν σωματοτροφείων ἀγε-  
 λῶδον ἀπαχθεῖσιν εὐθύς χαρακτήρας<sup>2</sup> ἐπέβαλλον καὶ  
 2 στιγμὰς τοῖς σώμασιν. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν  
 νέοις νομεῦσι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ὡς πη ἐκάστω ἡ χρεῖα  
 ἐπέβαλλε. βαρέως δ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τε τὰς ὑπηρεσίας  
 ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἐπιμελείας παντελῶς ὀλίγης ἤξιον,  
 ὅσα τε ἐντρέφεσθαι καὶ ὅσα ἐνδύσασθαι. ἐξ ὧν οἱ  
 πλείους ἀπὸ ληστείας τὸ ζῆν ἐπορίζοντο, καὶ μεστὰ<sup>3</sup>  
 φόνων ἦν ἅπαντα, καθάπερ στρατευμάτων διεσπαρ-  
 3 μένων τῶν ληστῶν. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ κωλύειν μὲν  
 ἐπεχείρουν, κολάζειν δὲ οὐ τολμώντες διὰ τὴν  
 ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ βάρος τῶν κυρίων, οἱ ἐδέσποζον τῶν  
 ληστῶν, ἡναγκάζοντο περιορᾶν ληστευομένην τὴν  
 ἐπαρχίαν· οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ τῶν κτητόρων ἱππεῖς  
 ὄντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κριταὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἐπαρχιῶν κατηγορουμένοις στρατηγοῖς<sup>4</sup> γινόμενοι,  
 φοβεροὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑπῆρχον.  
 4 Πιεζόμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ] πέντε ἐπὶ (ἐ ἐπὶ) Unger.

<sup>2</sup> So Jacoby: χαρακτήρα.

<sup>3</sup> μεστὰ B, μετὰ cett.

<sup>4</sup> στρατηγοῖς B, στρατηγοὶ cett.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the uprising is uncertain, and the "sixty years" of Photius is at best a round number. For an earlier dating see Broughton, *Magistrates*, 1. 483, note 1. I follow Carcopino in Glotz, *Histoire générale* (*Hist. rom.* 2. 185, note 35), and Last in *Cam. Anc. Hist.* 9. 12.—The rapid summary of the war given by Photius does scant justice to Diodorus, 56

2. When Sicily, after the Carthaginian collapse, had<sup>1</sup> 185 B.C. (?)  
 enjoyed sixty years of good fortune in all respects, the Servile War<sup>1</sup> broke out for the following reason. The Sicilians, having shot up in prosperity and acquired great wealth, began to purchase a vast number of slaves, to whose bodies, as they were brought in droves from the slave markets, they at once applied marks and brands. The young men they used as cowherds, the others in such ways as they happened to be useful. But they treated them with a heavy hand in their service, and granted them the most meagre care, the bare minimum for food and clothing. As a result most of them made their livelihood by brigandage, and there was bloodshed everywhere, since the brigands were like scattered bands of soldiers. The governors (*praetores*) attempted to repress them, but since they did not dare to punish them because of the power and prestige of the gentry who owned the brigands, they were forced to connive at the pillaging of the province. For most of the landowners were Roman knights (*equites*), and since it was the knights who acted as judges when charges arising from provincial affairs were brought against the governors,<sup>2</sup> the magistrates stood in awe of them.

The slaves, distressed by their hardships, and fre-  
 as may be seen by comparison with the parallel passages preserved in the Constantinian *Excerpta* (below, chap. 2. 25-48, including 24b, now restored to its proper position after chap. 2. 37). For an arrangement of the fragments in parallel columns see Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 87 (Poseidonius), fr. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Actually, equestrian control of the courts could not have existed before the Gracchan *Lex iudiciaria* of 122 B.C. The anachronism may derive from the bias of Poseidonius but perhaps goes back to his Roman sources.



πληγαῖς τὰ πολλά παραλόγως ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐχ  
 ὑπέμενον. συνιόντες οὖν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὰς εὐκαι-  
 ρίας συνελάλουν περὶ ἀποστάσεως, ἕως εἰς ἔργον  
 5 τὴν βουλὴν ἤγαγον. ἦν δέ τις οἰκέτης Ἀντιγένους  
 Ἐνναίου, Σύρος<sup>1</sup> τὸ γένος ἐκ τῆς Ἀπαμείας, ἄν-  
 θρωπος μάγος καὶ τερατουργὸς τὸν τρόπον. οὗτος  
 προσεποιεῖτο θεῶν ἐπιτάγμασι καθ' ὕπνον προλέ-  
 γειν τὰ μέλλοντα, καὶ πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν εἰς τοῦτο  
 τὸ μέρος εὐφυῖαν ἐξηπάτα. ἐντεῦθεν προῦν οὐ  
 μόνον ἐξ ὀνείρων ἐμαντεύετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγρηγορό-  
 τως θεοὺς ὁρᾶν ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀκούειν τὰ  
 6 μέλλοντα. πολλῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σχεδιαζομένων  
 ἀπὸ τύχης ἔνια πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐξέβαινε· καὶ τῶν  
 μὲν μὴ γινομένων ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐλεγχομένων, τῶν δέ  
 συντελουμένων ἐπισημασίας τυγχάνοντων, προ-  
 κοπὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν δόξα. τελευταῖον  
 διὰ τινος μηχανῆς πῦρ μετὰ τινος ἐνθουσιασμοῦ  
 καὶ φλόγα διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἤφειε, καὶ οὕτω τὰ  
 7 μέλλοντα ἀπεφοίβαζεν. εἰς γὰρ κάρυνον ἢ τι τοι-  
 οῦτο τετρημένον ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐνετίθει πῦρ  
 καὶ τὴν συνέχειν αὐτὸ δυναμένην ὕλην· εἰτα ἐντιθείς  
 τῷ στόματι καὶ προσπνέων ποτὲ μὲν σπινθήρας,  
 ποτὲ δέ φλόγα ἐξέκαεν. οὗτος πρὸ τῆς ἀποστά-  
 σεως ἔλεγε τὴν Συρίαν θεὸν ἐπιφαινομένην αὐτῷ  
 λέγειν ὅτι βασιλεύσει· καὶ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς ἄλλους  
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ  
 8 διετέλει λέγων. εἰς δέ γέλωτα τρεπομένου τοῦ  
 πράγματος, ὁ μὲν Ἀντιγένης ψυχαγωγούμενος ἐπὶ  
 τῇ τερατείᾳ παρήγε τὸν Εὐνουν εἰς τὰ σὺνδειπνα—  
 τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα τῷ τερατίᾳ—καὶ διηρώτα περὶ

<sup>1</sup> Σύρος transposed here by Reiske: οἰκέτης Σύρος Ἀ. Ἐν-  
 ναίου MSS.

quently outraged and beaten beyond all reason,  
 could not endure their treatment. Getting together  
 as opportunity offered, they discussed the possibility  
 of revolt, until at last they put their plans into action.  
 There was a certain Syrian slave, belonging to Anti-  
 genes of Enna; he was an Apamean by birth and  
 had an aptitude for magic and the working of wonders.  
 He claimed to foretell the future, by divine command,  
 through dreams, and because of his talent along these  
 lines deceived many. Going on from there he not  
 only gave oracles by means of dreams, but even  
 made a pretence of having waking visions of the  
 gods and of hearing the future from their own lips.  
 Of his many improvisations some by chance turned  
 out true, and since those which failed to do so were  
 left unchallenged, while those that were fulfilled  
 attracted attention, his reputation advanced apace.  
 Finally, through some device, while in a state of  
 divine possession, he would produce fire and flame  
 from his mouth, and thus rave oracularly about  
 things to come. For he would place fire, and fuel  
 to maintain it, in a nut—or something similar—that  
 was pierced on both sides; then, placing it in his  
 mouth and blowing on it, he kindled now sparks,  
 and now a flame. Prior to the revolt he used to  
 say that the Syrian goddess<sup>1</sup> appeared to him, saying  
 that he should be king, and he repeated this, not  
 only to others, but even to his own master. Since  
 his claims were treated as a joke, Antigeneas, taken  
 by his hocus-pocus, would introduce Eunus (for that  
 was the wonder-worker's name) at his dinner parties,

<sup>1</sup> Atargatis, whose chief sanctuary was at Hierapolis  
 (modern Membidj) in north-eastern Syria: cp. Lucian, *On  
 the Syrian Goddess*.

τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πῶς ἐκάστῳ χρήσεται τῶν παρόντων· τοῦ δὲ ἀτρέπτως πάντα διηγουμένου, καὶ ὡς μετρίως χρήσεται τοῖς κυρίοις, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ποικίλως τερατευομένου, γέλωτες ἐγίνοντο τοῖς παρακεκλημένοις, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἀξιολόγους μερίδας αἴροντες ἐδωροῦντο, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅπως, ὅταν γένηται βασιλεύς, τῆς χάριτος  
 9 μνημονεύοι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἡ τερατεία προῆλθεν εἰς ἀληθινὸν ἀποτέλεσμα βασιλείας, καὶ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τοῖς παρὰ τὰ δείπνα δεξιωσαμένοις ἐν γέλῳτι οὐ χωρὶς σπουδῆς ἐποιήσατο τῆς χάριτος. ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ὅλης ἀποστάσεως ἐγένετο τοιαύτη.  
 10 Δαμόφιλος τις ἦν Ἐνναῖος, τὴν δ' οὐσίαν μεγαλόπλουτος,<sup>1</sup> ὑπερήφανος δὲ τὸν τρόπον. οὗτος κακῶς εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἐκέχρητο τοῖς δούλοις, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὴ<sup>2</sup> Μεγαλλίς ἀντεφιλονείκει τῷ ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀπανθρωπίαν τὴν περὶ τοὺς δούλους. ἐξ ὧν ἀποθηριωθέντες οἱ προπηλακιζόμενοι συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἀποστάσεως καὶ φόνου τῶν κυρίων. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Εὐνουν ἐλθόντες ἡρώτων εἰ συγχωρεῖται παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς τὸ βεβουλευμένον. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τερατείας, ὡς εἰώθει, συνθέμενος ὅτι συγχωροῦσι, παραχρῆμα  
 11 πείθει ἔχσθαι τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως. εὐθὺς οὖν τετρακοσίους τῶν ὁμοδούλων συνήθροισαν, καὶ ὡς ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου καθοπλισθέντες εἰς τὴν Ἐνναν τὴν πόλιν εἰσπίπτουσιν, ἀφηγουμένοι αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τὰς φλόγας τερατευομένου τούτοις τοῦ Εὐνουν. ταῖς δ' οἰκίαις ἐπεισελθόντες πλεῖστον φόνον εἰργά-

and cross-question him about his kingship and how he would treat each of the men present. And since he gave a full account of everything without hesitation, explaining with what moderation he would treat the masters and in sum making a colourful tale of his quackery, the guests were always stirred to laughter, and some of them, picking up a nice tidbit from the table, would present it to him, adding, as they did so, that when he became king, he should remember the favour. But, as it happened, his charlatanism did in fact result in kingship, and for the favours received in jest at the banquets he made a return of thanks in good earnest. The beginning of the whole revolt took place as follows.

There was a certain Damophilus of Enna, a man of great wealth but insolent of manner; he had abused his slaves to excess, and his wife Megallis vied even with her husband in punishing the slaves and in her general inhumanity towards them. The slaves, reduced by this degrading treatment to the level of brutes, conspired to revolt and to murder their masters. Going to Eunus they asked him whether their resolve had the favour of the gods. He, resorting to his usual mummary, promised them the favour of the gods, and soon persuaded them to act at once. Immediately, therefore, they brought together four hundred of their fellow slaves and, having armed themselves in such ways as opportunity permitted, they fell upon the city of Enna, with Eunus at their head and working his miracle of the flames of fire for their benefit. When they found their way into the houses they shed much

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske (cp. chap. 2. 34): μεγαλόφυχος.

<sup>2</sup> So Walton: δέ.

- 12 ζοντο, μηδ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπομαζίων φειδόμενοι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῆς θηλῆς ἀποσπῶντες προσήρασαν τῇ γῇ· εἰς δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> βλέπόντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσα ἐνύβριζόν τε καὶ ἐνησέλγαινον, πολλοῦ αὐτοῖς πλήθους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως δούλων προστεθέντος, οἱ καὶ κατὰ τῶν κυρίων πρότερον τὰ ἔσχατα ἐνδεικνύμενοι οὕτω πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἄλλων φόνον ἐτρέποντο. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Εὐνουν πυθόμενοι τὸν Δαμόφιλον ὅτι κατὰ τὸν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως περίκηπον διατρίβει μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, εἰκον ἐκείθεν διὰ τινων ἐξ αὐτῶν σταλέντων αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα δεδεμένους ἐξαγκωνίσαντες, πολλὰς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὕβρεις ὑποσχόντας. μόνῃς δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ δοῦλοι ὥφθησαν εἰς πάντα φεισάμενοι διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον αὐτῆς ἦθος καὶ περὶ τοὺς δούλους συμπαθεῖς καὶ βοηθητικὸν κατὰ δύναμιν. ἐξ ὧν ἐδείκνυτο τῶν δούλων οὐχὶ ὠμότης εἶναι φύσεως τὰ γινόμενα εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ τῶν προὔπηργμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδικημάτων ἀνταπόδοσις. τὸν δὲ Δαμόφιλον καὶ τὴν Μεγαλλίδα εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ἐλκύσαντες, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν, εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσήγαγον, συνελθυσθότος ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀποστατῶν. καὶ τοῦ Δαμοφίλου τεχνάσασθαι τι πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐγχειρήσαντος καὶ πολλοὺς τοῦ πλήθους τοῖς λόγοις ἐπαγομένου, Ἑρμείας καὶ Ζεῦξις πικρῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διακείμενοι πλάνον τε ἀπεκάλουν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμεινάντες τὴν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν ὃ μὲν διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν τὸ ξίφος ὠθεῖ, ὃ δὲ πελέκει τὸν τράχηλον ἐκοψεν. ἐκείθεν αἰρεῖται βασιλεὺς ὁ Εὐνους οὕτε δι' ἀνδρείαν οὕτε

<sup>1</sup> So Hertlein: καὶ τότε Α, καίτοι cett., καὶ τοῦτο Herwerden.

blood, sparing not even suckling babes. Rather they tore them from the breast and dashed them to the ground, while as for the women—and under their husbands' very eyes—but words cannot tell the extent of their outrages and acts of lewdness! By now a great multitude of slaves from the city had joined them, who, after first demonstrating against their own masters their utter ruthlessness, then turned to the slaughter of others. When Eunus and his men learned that Damophilus and his wife were in the garden that lay near the city, they sent some of their band and dragged them off, both the man and his wife, fettered and with hands bound behind their backs, subjecting them to many outrages along the way. Only in the case of the couple's daughter were the slaves seen to show consideration throughout, and this was because of her kindly nature, in that to the extent of her power she was always compassionate and ready to succour the slaves. Thereby it was demonstrated that the others were treated as they were, not because of some "natural savagery of slaves," but rather in revenge for wrongs previously received. The men appointed to the task, having dragged Damophilus and Megallis into the city, as we said, brought them to the theatre, where the crowd of rebels had assembled. But when Damophilus attempted to devise a plea to get them off safe and was winning over many of the crowd with his words, Hermeias and Zeuxis, men bitterly disposed towards him, denounced him as a cheat, and without waiting for a formal trial by the assembly the one ran him through the chest with a sword, the other chopped off his head with an axe. Thereupon Eunus was chosen king, not for his manly courage



διὰ στρατηγίαν, διὰ δὲ μόνην τερατείαν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἄρξαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας οἰονεῖ τινα καλὸν οἰωνὸν ἐχούσης πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποταττομένων εὐνοίαν.

15 Τῶν ὅλων δὲ τοῖς ἀποστάταις καταστὰς κύριος καὶ συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνείλε μὲν τοὺς ἐξωγρημένους τῶν Ἐνναίων, ὅσοις οὐκ ἦν ἡ τέχνη ὅπλα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἐκείνους δὲ δεδεμένους τοῖς ἔργοις ὑπέβαλλεν. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ταῖς θεραπαίνας τὴν Μεγαλλίδα χρήσασθαι ὥς ἂν βούλονται· καὶ αὗται κατεκρήμνισαν αἰκισάμεναι. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἰδί-

16 οὺς ἀνείλε κυρίους Ἀντιγένη καὶ Πύθωνα. περιθέμενος δὲ διάδημα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν βασιλικῶς διακοσμήσας τὴν τε συμβιούσαν αὐτῷ, Σύραν καὶ συμπολίτιν οὖσαν, βασίλισσαν ἀποδείξας συνέδρους τε τοὺς συνέσει δοκοῦντας διαφέρειν ποιησάμενος, ὧν ἦν Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ γένος, ἀνὴρ καὶ βουλῇ καὶ χειρὶ διαφέρων, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις πλείους τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων τὸν δυνατὸν καθοπλίσας τρόπον καὶ ἑτέροις συνεπαγόμενος ἀξίνας καὶ πελέκεσι χρωμένους ἢ σφενδόνας ἢ δρεπάνους ἢ ξύλοις πεφυρακτωμένοις ἢ καὶ μαγείρων ὀβελοῖς, ἐπήγει πᾶσαν λεηλατῶν τὴν χώραν, καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον οἰκετῶν προσλαμβάνων ἐθάρρησε καὶ στρατηγοῖς Ῥωμαίων πολεμῆσαι, καὶ συμπλακεῖς τῷ πλήθει πολλάκις ἐκράτησεν, ἔχων ἥδη στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους.

17 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κλέων τις Κίλιξ ἄλλων δούλων ἀποστάσεως ἤρξε. καὶ πάντων ταῖς ἐλπίσι μετεω-

or his ability as a military leader, but solely for his marvels and his setting of the revolt in motion, and because his name seemed to contain a favourable omen that suggested good will towards his subjects.<sup>1</sup>

Established as the rebels' supreme commander, he called an assembly and put to death all the citizenry of Enna except for those who were skilled in the manufacture of arms: these he put in chains and assigned them to this task. He gave Megallis to the maidservants to deal with as they might wish; they subjected her to torture and threw her over a precipice. He himself murdered his own masters, Antigene and Pytho. Having set a diadem upon his head, and arrayed himself in full royal style, he proclaimed his wife queen (she was a fellow Syrian and of the same city), and appointed to the royal council such men as seemed to be gifted with superior intelligence, among them one Achaeus (Achaeus by name and an Achaean by birth), a man who excelled both at planning and in action. In three days Eunus had armed, as best he could, more than six thousand men, besides others in his train who had only axes and hatchets, or slings, or sickles, or fire-hardened stakes, or even kitchen spits; and he went about ravaging the countryside. Then, since he kept recruiting untold numbers of slaves, he ventured even to do battle with Roman generals, and on joining combat repeatedly overcame them with his superior numbers, for he now had more than ten thousand soldiers.

Meanwhile a man named Cleon, a Cilician, began a revolt of still other slaves. And though there were

<sup>1</sup> As a common adjective his name means "well-disposed," "friendly."

ρισθέντων ὡς ἀντιπολεμήσει τὰ στασιάσαντα πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἀποστάται διαφθείροντες ἐλευθερώσουσι τὴν Σικελίαν τῆς στάσεως, παρὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλοις συνέβησαν, τοῦ Κλέωνος ὑποταγέντος ψιλῶ τοῦ Εὐνὸς προστάγματι καὶ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ οἶα δὴ βασιλεῖ χρεῖαν ἀποπληροῦντος, ἔχοντος οἰκεῖον πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν πεντακισχιλίων· ἡμέραι δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως τριάκοντα.

- 18 Καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ ἐκ Ῥώμης ἤκοντι στρατηγῶ Λευκίῳ Ὑψαίῳ, ἔχοντι στρατιώτας ἐκ Σικελίας ὀκτακισχιλίους, εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντες οἱ ἀποστάται ἐνίκησαν, πλῆθος ὄντες δισμύριοι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀθροίζεται τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν εἰς μυριάδας εἴκοσι, καὶ πολλοῖς τοῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμοις
- 19 ἐνευδοκίμησαντες ἔλαττον αὐτοὶ ἔπταιον. οὐ διαβοηθέντος κατὰ τε Ῥώμην δούλων ἀπόστασις ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα συνομοσάντων ἀνῆπτετο, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὑπὲρ χιλίων, ἐν τε Δήλῳ καὶ κατ' ἄλλους πολλοὺς τόπους· οὓς τάχει τε τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τῇ σφοδρᾷ κολάσει τῆς τιμωρίας οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν κοινῶν θάττον ἠφάνισαν, σωφρονίσαντες καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ὅσον ἦν ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει
- 20 μετέωρον. κατὰ δὲ Σικελίαν ἤϋξετο τὸ κακόν, καὶ πόλεις ἡλίσκοντο αὐτάνδροι καὶ πολλὰ στρατόπεδα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν κατεκόπησαν, ἕως Ῥουπίλιος<sup>2</sup> ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς τὸ Ταυρομένιον ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις, καρτερῶς μὲν αὐτὸ πολιορκήσας καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δὴ Α, δεῖ cett.

<sup>2</sup> So Rhodoman: Ῥοτίλιος or Ῥουτίλιος MSS. (and so below, chap. 2, 22-23).

high hopes everywhere that the revolutionary groups would come into conflict one with the other, and that the rebels, by destroying themselves, would free Sicily of strife, contrary to expectations the two groups joined forces, Cleon having subordinated himself to Eunus at his mere command, and discharging, as it were, the function of a general serving a king; his particular band numbered five thousand men. It was now about thirty days since the outbreak.

Soon after, engaging in battle with a general arrived from Rome, Lucius Hypsaeus,<sup>1</sup> who had eight thousand Sicilian troops, the rebels were victorious, since they now numbered twenty thousand. Before long their band reached a total of two hundred thousand, and in numerous battles with the Romans they acquitted themselves well, and failed but seldom. As word of this was bruited about, a revolt of one hundred and fifty slaves, banded together, flared up in Rome, of more than a thousand in Attica, and of yet others in Delos and many other places. But thanks to the speed with which forces were brought up and to the severity of their punitive measures, the magistrates of these communities at once disposed of the rebels and brought to their senses any who were wavering on the verge of revolt. In Sicily, however, the trouble grew. Cities were captured with all their inhabitants, and many armies were cut to pieces by the rebels, until Rupilius,<sup>2</sup> the Roman commander, recovered Tauromenium for the Romans by placing it under strict siege and con-

132 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> L. Plautius Hypsaeus. The date of his service as praetor cannot be determined with certainty (cp. Broughton, cited above, note on § 1).

<sup>2</sup> P. Rupilius, consul in 132 B.C.

εἰς ἄφατον ἀνάγκην καὶ λιμὸν τοὺς ἀποστάτας συγκλείσας, ὥστε ἄρξαμένους ἐκ παίδων βορᾶς καὶ διελθόντας διὰ γυναικῶν μηδὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλολοφαγίας μηδ' ὅλως φείσασθαι· ὅτε καὶ Κομανὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Κλέωνος φεύγοντα ἐκ<sup>1</sup> τῆς πολιορκουμένης πόλεως εἶλε. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Σαραπίωνος Σύρου τὴν ἄκραν προδόντος, συμπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δραπετῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκυρίευσεν· οὗς καὶ αἰκισάμενος κατεκρήμνισεν. ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔνναν ἐλθὼν παραπλησίως ἐπολιόρκει, εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀνάγκην συγκλείων τὰς τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐλπίδας. καὶ Κλέωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐξελθόντα τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἥρωικῶς ἀγωνισάμενον μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων δείξας νεκρόν, εἶλε καὶ ταύτην προδοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεὶ οὐδ'<sup>2</sup> ἦν ἀλώσιμος διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα βίᾳ χειρός. ὁ δὲ Εὐνὸς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ὄντας χιλίους<sup>3</sup> ἔφυγεν<sup>4</sup> ἀνάνδρως εἰς τινὰς παρακρήμους τόπους. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ ἄφυκτον τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς δεινὸν ἐπιστάμενοι, ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥουπίλιος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν, ἀλλήλους τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἔσφαζον ἀπαυχενίσαντες.<sup>5</sup> ὁ δὲ τερατίας Εὐνὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς καταφυγὼν διὰ δειλίαν ἐν τισὶ κοιλιάσιν ἐξεيلκύσθη ἅμα τετάρτων, μαγείρου καὶ ἀρτοποιοῦ καὶ τοῦ τρίβοντος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ καὶ τετάρτου τοῦ παρὰ τοὺς πότους εἰωθότος ψυχαγωγεῖν αὐτόν. καὶ παραδοθεὶς εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ διαλυθέντος εἰς φθειρῶν πλήθος οἰκείως τῆς περὶ

fining the rebels under conditions of unspeakable duress and famine : conditions such that, beginning by eating the children, they progressed to the women, and did not altogether abstain even from eating one another. It was on this occasion that Rupilius captured Comanus, the brother of Cleon, as he was attempting to escape from the beleaguered city. Finally, after Sarapion, a Syrian, had betrayed the citadel, the general laid hands on all the runaway slaves in the city, whom, after torture, he threw over a cliff. From there he advanced to Enna, which he put under siege in much the same manner, bringing the rebels into extreme straits and frustrating their hopes. Cleon came forth from the city with a few men, but after an heroic struggle, covered with wounds, he was displayed dead, and Rupilius captured this city also by betrayal, since its strength was impregnable to force of arms. Eunus, taking with him his bodyguards, a thousand strong, fled in unmanly fashion to a certain precipitous region. The men with him, however, aware that their dreaded fate was inevitable, inasmuch as the general, Rupilius, was already marching against them, killed one another with the sword, by beheading. Eunus, the wonder-worker and king, who through cowardice had sought refuge in certain caves, was dragged out with four others, a cook, a baker, the man who massaged him at his bath, and a fourth, whose duty it had been to amuse him at drinking parties. Remanded to prison, where his flesh disintegrated into a mass of

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> μηδ' A.

<sup>3</sup> χιλίους AB, ἑξακοσίους cett.

<sup>4</sup> ἔφυγεν A.

<sup>5</sup> So Bekker : ἀπαυχενίσαντας.



αὐτὸν ῥαδιουργίας κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ Μοργαντίνῃ. ἐντεῦθεν Ῥουπίλιος ἐπιτρέχων ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν ἅμα λογάσιν ὀλίγοις θάπτον ἤπερ τις ἡλπισε παντὸς αὐτὴν ἡλευθέρωσε λησθηρίου.

- 24 "Οτι ὁ τῶν ἀποστατῶν βασιλεὺς Εὐνους ἑαυτὸν μὲν Ἀντίοχον, Σύρους δὲ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπωνόμασεν. (Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 384-386 B.)

Chap. 2. 24b : see below, after Chap. 2. 37.

- 25 "Οτι οὐδέποτε στάσις ἐγένετο τηλικαύτη δούλων ἡλική συνέστη ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. δι' ἣν πολλαὶ μὲν πόλεις δειναῖς περιέπεσον συμφοραῖς, ἀναρίθμητοι δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετὰ τέκνων ἐπειράθησαν τῶν μεγίστων ἀτυχημάτων, πᾶσα δὲ ἡ νῆσος ἐκινδύνευσεν πεσεῖν εἰς ἐξουσίαν δραπετῶν, ὅρον τῆς ἐξουσίας τιθεμένων τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ἀκληρημάτων. καὶ ταῦτα ἀπήντησε τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραδόξως, τοῖς δὲ πραγματικῶς ἕκαστα δυναμένοις κρίνειν οὐκ ἀλόγως
- 26 ἔδοξε συμβαίνειν. διὰ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐπορίας τῶν τὴν κρατίστην νῆσον ἐκκαρπουμένων<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντες σχεδὸν οἱ τοῖς πλούτοις προκεκοφότες ἐξήλωσαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τρυφήν, εἰθ' ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ ὕβριν. ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων αὐξανομένης ἐπ' ἰσῆς τῆς τε κατὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν κακουχίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀλλοτριότητος, ἐρράγη<sup>2</sup> ποτὲ σὺν

<sup>1</sup> So Salmasius, Wesseling : εὐκαρπουμένων P.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξερράγη Herwerden, Hertlein.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla*, 36, includes Eunus in a list of famous or notorious people who died of the *morbus pedicularis*. A similar affliction smote Herod (Acts 12. 23), who was "eaten of worms"; cp. also Herodotus, 4. 205, and Lucian, *Pseudomantis*, 59.

lice,<sup>1</sup> he met such an end as befitted his knavery, and died at Morgantina.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon Rupilius, traversing the whole of Sicily with a few picked troops, sooner than had been expected rid it of every nest of robbers.

Eunus, king of the rebels, called himself Antiochus, and his horde of rebels Syrians.

There<sup>3</sup> was never a sedition of slaves so great as 135 B.C. (?) that which occurred in Sicily, whereby many cities met with grave calamities, innumerable men and women, together with their children, experienced the greatest misfortunes, and all the island was in danger of falling into the power of fugitive slaves, who measured their authority only by the excessive suffering of the freeborn. To most people these events came as an unexpected and sudden surprise, but to those who were capable of judging affairs realistically they did not seem to happen without reason. Because of the superabundant prosperity of those who exploited the products of this mighty island, nearly all who had risen in wealth affected first a luxurious mode of living, then arrogance and insolence. As a result of all this, since both the maltreatment of the slaves and their estrangement from their masters increased at an equal rate, there was at last, when occasion offered, a violent outburst

<sup>2</sup> For the identification of Morgantina with the extensive remains at Serra Orlando see K. Erim, *A.J.A.* 62 (1958), 79-90; reports of the excavations at the site (since 1955) have appeared in the same journal, vols. 61 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The rest of chap. 2 from this point on consists of the Constantinian *Excerpta*, which (in part) parallel the continuous but abbreviated narrative given by Photius. The present paragraph is clearly from the introduction to the account of the Servile War.

καιρῷ τὸ μῖσος. ἔξ οὗ χωρὶς παραγγέλλματος  
πολλὰι μυριάδες συνέδραμον οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν  
δεσποτῶν ἀπώλειαν. τὸ παραπλήσιον δὲ γέγονε  
καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς,  
Ἀριστονίκου μὲν ἀντιποιησάμενου τῆς μὴ προση-  
κούσης βασιλείας, τῶν δὲ δούλων διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν  
δεσποτῶν κακουχίας συναπονοησαμένων ἐκείνῳ<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασι πολλὰς πόλεις περιβαλόν-  
των.

- 27 Ὅτι παραπλησίως καὶ πρὸς τὰς γεωργίας ἕκα-  
στος τῶν πολλὴν χώραν κεκτημένων ὅλα σω-  
ματοτροφεῖα συνηγόραζον. . . .<sup>2</sup> τοὺς μὲν πέδαις  
δεσμεύειν, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς βαρύτησι τῶν ἔργων κατα-  
πονεῖν, πάντας<sup>3</sup> δὲ τοῖς ὑπερφήανοις χαρακτηῖσι  
κατέστιζον. διὸ καὶ τοσοῦτο τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπέκλυσε  
πληθος ἅπασαν<sup>4</sup> Σικελίαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὴν  
ὑπερβολὴν μὴ πιστεῦσαι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν Σικελιω-  
τῶν οἱ πολλοὺς πλούτους κεκτημένοι διημιλλῶντο  
πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὑπερηφανίας τε καὶ  
πλεονεξίας καὶ κακουργίας. εἰς τοιαύτην γὰρ συνή-  
θειαν ῥαδιουργίας τοὺς νομεῖς ἤγαγον οἱ πολλοὺς  
οἰκέτας κεκτημένοι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ὥστε τροφὰς μὲν  
28 μὴ παρέχειν, ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ ληστεύειν. τοιαύτης δο-  
θείσης ἐξουσίας ἀνθρώποις διὰ μὲν τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν  
σωμάτων δυναμένοις πᾶν τὸ κριθέν ἐπιτελεῖν, διὰ  
δὲ τὴν ἀνεσιν καὶ σχολὴν εὐκαιροῦσι, διὰ δὲ τὴν  
τῆς τροφῆς ἔνδειαν ἀναγκαζομένοις ταῖς παραβόλοις  
ἐγχειρεῖν πράξεις, συνέβη ταχὺ τὴν παρανομίαν

of hatred. So without a word of summons tens of  
thousands of slaves joined forces to destroy their  
masters. Similar events took place throughout Asia  
at the same period, after Aristonicus<sup>1</sup> laid claim to a  
kingdom that was not rightfully his, and the slaves,  
because of their owners' maltreatment of them, joined  
him in his mad venture and involved many cities in  
great misfortunes.

In like fashion<sup>2</sup> each of the large landowners  
bought up whole slave marts to work their lands;  
. . . to bind some in fetters, to wear out others by  
the severity of their tasks; and they marked all  
with their arrogant brands. In consequence, so great  
a multitude of slaves inundated all Sicily that those  
who heard tell of the immense number were in-  
credulous. For in fact the Sicilians who had acquired  
much wealth were now rivalling the Italians in ar-  
rogance, greed, and villainy. And the Italians who  
owned large numbers of slaves had made crime so  
familiar to their herdsmen that they provided them  
no food, but permitted them to plunder. With  
such licence given to men who had the physical  
strength to accomplish their every resolve, who had  
scope and leisure to seize the opportunity, and who  
for want of food were constrained to embark on  
perilous enterprises, there was soon an increase in

<sup>1</sup> After the death of Attalus III in 133 B.C., Aristonicus  
appeared as a pretender to the throne of Pergamum, claiming  
to be a son of Eumenes II; his utopian project, the "City  
of the Sun," won him wide popular support, and it was not  
until 130 B.C. that he was defeated by Roman arms and taken  
captive (Strabo, 14. 1. 38, p. 646).

<sup>2</sup> The point of the comparison is not made clear. This  
section (§§ 27-32) corresponds to §§ 1-3, above.

<sup>4</sup> So Valesius: ἅπαν (sic) P.

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: συναπονοησάμενος ἐκείνων P.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby suggests ὡν εἰώθεσαν for the lacuna.

<sup>3</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: πάντα P.

αὐξηθῆναι. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις<sup>1</sup>  
τόποις τοὺς καθ' ἓνα καὶ δύο τὰς ὁδοπορίας ποιου-  
μένους ἐφόνεον· εἶτα ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων  
ἐπαύλεις νυκτὸς ἀθροοὶ συντρέχοντες ἐξήρουν βία  
ταύτας καὶ τὰς κτήσεις διήρπαζον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθ-  
29 ισταμένους ἀνήρουν. αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς τόλμης  
προβαινούσης, οὔτε τοῖς ὁδοιπόροις νυκτὸς ἢ Σι-  
κελία βάσιμος ἦν οὔτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ζῆν  
εἰωθόσιν ἀσφαλὲς ἐπὶ ταύτης ἢ διατριβή, πάντα  
δὲ βίας καὶ ληστείας καὶ παντοδαπῶν φόνων ἦν με-  
στά. τοῖς δὲ νομεῦσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀγρραυλίας γεγεννημένης καὶ  
σκενῆς στρατιωτικῆς, εὐλόγως ἅπαντες ἐνεπιμ-  
πλῶντο φρονήματος καὶ θράσους· περιφέροντες γὰρ  
ρόπαλα καὶ λόγχας καὶ καλαύροπας ἀξιολόγους καὶ  
δέρματα λύκων ἢ συάγων ἐσκεπασμένοι τὰ σώ-  
ματα καταπληκτικὴν εἶχον τὴν πρόσοψιν καὶ πολε-  
30 μικῶν ἔργων οὐ πόρρω κειμένην. κυνῶν τε ἀλ-  
κίμων ἄθροισμα συνεπόμενον ἐκάστω καὶ τροφῆς  
καὶ γάλακτος καὶ κρεῶν παρακειμένων πλήθος ἐξ-  
ηγρίου τὰς τε ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα. ἦν οὖν πᾶσα  
χώρα μεστή καθάπερ στρατευμάτων διεσπαρμέ-  
νων, ὥς ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ  
31 θράσους τῶν δούλων καθωπλισμένου.<sup>3</sup> οἱ δὲ στρα-  
τηγοὶ κωλύειν μὲν ἐπεχείρουν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν  
οἰκετῶν, κολάζειν δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν  
καὶ τὸ βάρος τῶν κυρίων ἠναγκάζοντο περιορᾶν  
τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ληστευομένην. οἱ πλεῖστοι γὰρ τῶν  
κτητόρων ἵππεῖς ὄντες ἐντελεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ  
κριταὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν κατηγορουμένοις

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεπιφανεστάτοις Post.

<sup>2</sup> νομεῖσι P.

lawlessness. They began by murdering men who were travelling singly or in pairs, in the most conspicuous<sup>1</sup> areas. Then they took to assaulting in a body, by night, the homesteads of the less well protected, which they destroyed, seizing the property and killing all who resisted. As their boldness grew steadily greater, Sicily became impassable to travellers by night; those who normally lived in the country found it no longer safe to stay there; and there was violence, robbery, and all manner of bloodshed on every side. The herdsmen, however, because of their experience of life in the open and their military accoutrements, were naturally all brimming with high spirits and audacity; and since they carried clubs or spears or stout staves, while their bodies were protected by the skins of wolves or wild boars, they presented a terrifying appearance that was little short of actual belligerency. Moreover, each had at his heels a pack of valiant dogs, while the plentiful diet of milk and meat available to the men rendered them savage in temper and in physique. So every region was filled with what were practically scattered bands of soldiers, since with the permission of their masters the reckless daring of the slaves had been furnished with arms. The praetors attempted to hold the raging slaves in check, but not daring to punish them because of the power and influence of the masters were forced to wink at the plundering of their province. For most of the landowners were Roman knights in full standing, and since it was the knights who acted as judges when

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps "inconspicuous": see critical note.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius: καθοπλισμένων P.



στρατηγοῖς γινόμενοι,<sup>1</sup> φοβεροὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπῆρχον.

- 32 Ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὰς γεωργίας ἀσχολούμενοι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν παμπληθεῖς οἰκέτας ὠνούμενοι καὶ πάντας χαράττοντες τοῖς στίγμασι τροφὰς μὲν οὐχ ἱκανὰς παρεῖχοντο, τῇ δὲ βαρύτητι τῶν ἔργων κατέξαινον . . .<sup>2</sup> τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν τάλαιπωρίαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 302-303.)

- 33 Ὅτι οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς δυναστείας τοὺς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντας ἐπιεικῶς χρῆ προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ταπεινότεροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἰδιωτικούς βίους πρῶως προσε νεκτέον τοῖς οἰκέταις τοὺς εὖ φρονούντας. ἡ γὰρ ὑπερηφανία καὶ βαρύτης ἐν μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπεργάζεται στάσεις ἐμφυλίου τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οἴκοις δούλων ἐπιβουλὰς τοῖς δεσπότης καὶ ἀποστάσεις φοβερὰς κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσι κατασκευάζει. ὅσῳ δ' ἂν<sup>3</sup> τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐκτρέπεται, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἤθη πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ἀποθηριούται· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ τῇ τύχῃ ταπεινὸς τοῦ μὲν καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐκουσίως ἐκχωρεῖ τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι, τῆς δὲ καθηκούσης φιλανθρωπίας στειρισκόμενος πολέμιος γίνεται τῶν ἀνημέρων δεσποζόντων.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 383-384.)

- 34 Ὅτι Δαμόφιλος τις ἦν τὸ γένος Ἐνναῖος, τὴν οὐσίαν μεγάλῳ πλουτος, τὸν τρόπον ὑπερήφανος, ὃς πολλὴν χώρας<sup>4</sup> περίοδον<sup>5</sup> γεωργῶν, παμπληθεῖς δὲ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας κεκτημένος<sup>6</sup> οὐ μόνον τὴν

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: γινομένοις P.

<sup>2</sup> Lacuna indicated by Dindorf.

charges arising from provincial affairs were brought against the governors,<sup>1</sup> the magistrates stood in awe of them.

The Italians who were engaged in agriculture purchased great numbers of slaves, all of whom they marked with brands, but failed to provide them sufficient food, and by oppressive toil wore them out . . . their distress.

Not only in the exercise of political power should men of prominence be considerate towards those of low estate, but so also in private life they should—if they are sensible—treat their slaves gently. For heavy-handed arrogance leads states into civil strife and factionalism between citizens, and in individual households it paves the way for plots of slaves against masters and for terrible uprisings in concert against the whole state. The more power is perverted to cruelty and lawlessness, the more the character of those subject to that power is brutalized to the point of desperation. Anyone whom fortune has set in low estate willingly yields place to his superiors in point of gentility and esteem, but if he is deprived of due consideration, he comes to regard those who harshly lord it over him with bitter enmity.

There<sup>2</sup> was a certain Damophilus, a native of Enna, a man of great wealth but arrogant in manner, who, since he had under cultivation a great circuit of land and owned many herds of cattle, emulated

<sup>1</sup> See note on § 3, above.

<sup>2</sup> With §§ 34-36, 38 cp. § 10 *init.*, above.

<sup>3</sup> ὅσῳ δ' ἂν Mai: ὅσοδ' ἂν V.

<sup>4</sup> So Valesius: χώραν P.

<sup>5</sup> So Reiske: πάροδον P.

<sup>6</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: καὶ κτημῆν (s. acc.) P.

τρυφήν τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν Ἰταλικῶν ἐξήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκέτας πλήθος καὶ τὴν εἰς τούτους ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ βαρύτητα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἵππους τε πολυτελεῖς καὶ τετρακύκλους ἀπήνας μετ' οἰκετῶν στρατιωτικῶν περιήγετο· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εὐπρεπῶν παιδων πλήθος, ἔτι δὲ κολάκων ἀνάγωγον παραδρομὴν ἔχειν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο.

35 κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἀργυρωμάτων ἐκθέσεις τορευτῶν καὶ στρωμάτων θαλαττίων πολυτελείας ἐκπονούμενος παρετίθετο τραπέζας ὑπερηφάνους καὶ βασιλικὰς ταῖς δαφιλείαις, ὑπεραίρων τὴν Περσικὴν τρυφήν ταῖς δαπάναις καὶ πολυτελείαις· ὑπερέβαλε δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατὰ<sup>2</sup> τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. ἀνάγωγος γὰρ καὶ ἀπαίδευτος τρόπος<sup>3</sup> ἐξουσίας ἀνυπευθύνου καὶ τύχης μεγαλοπλούτου κυριεύσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κόρον ἐγέννησεν, εἴθ' ὕβριν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ὀλεθρόν τε αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup> καὶ συμφορὰς μεγάλας

36 τῇ πατρίδι. ἀγοράζων γὰρ οἰκετῶν πλήθος ὕβρι-  
στικῶς αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο, στίγμασι σιδήρου χαράττων τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐλευθέρων μὲν ἐν ταῖς<sup>5</sup> πατρίσι γεγεννημένων, αἰχμαλωσίας δὲ καὶ δουλικῆς τύχης πεπειραμένων. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν πέ-  
δαις δεσμεύων εἰς τὰς συνεργασίας ἐνέβαλλε, τοὺς δὲ νομεῖς ἀποδεικνύων οὐτ' ἐσθῆτας οὔτε τροφὰς ἐχορήγει τὰς ἀρμοττοῦσας.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 304.)

Chap. 2. 37 : see below, after Chap. 2. 38.

38 "Ὅτι Δαμόφιλος ὁ Ἐνναϊὸς ποτε προσελθόντων

<sup>1</sup> δὲ added by Valesius.

not only the luxury affected by the Italian land-owners in Sicily, but also their troops of slaves and their inhumanity and severity towards them. He drove about the countryside with expensive horses, four-wheeled carriages, and a bodyguard of slaves, and prided himself, in addition, on his great train of handsome serving-boys and ill-mannered parasites.<sup>1</sup> Both in town and at his villas he took pains to provide a veritable exhibition of embossed silver and costly crimson spreads, and had himself served sumptuous and regally lavish dinners, in which he surpassed even the luxury of the Persians in outlay and extravagance, as indeed he outdid them also in arrogance. His uncouth and boorish nature, in fact, being set in possession of irresponsible power and in control of a vast fortune, first of all engendered satiety, then overweening pride, and, at last, destruction for him and great calamities for his country. Purchasing a large number of slaves, he treated them outrageously, marking with branding irons the bodies of men who in their own countries had been free, but who through capture in war had come to know the fate of a slave. Some of these he put in fetters and thrust into slave pens; others he designated to act as his herdsmen, but neglected to provide them with suitable clothing or food.

On one occasion when approached by a group of

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is patterned closely on a passage from the 8th book of Poseidonius' *History* (Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 87, fr. 7). Poseidonius was probably the chief source for Diodorus' account of the Servile War.

<sup>2</sup> Wifstrand suggests deleting κατὰ.

<sup>3</sup> So Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>: ἀπαιδευτότροπος P.

<sup>4</sup> τε αὐτῷ Dindorf<sup>4</sup>: αὐτῷ P, αὐτῷ Herwerden.

<sup>5</sup> ταῖς added by Herwerden.

αὐτῶ τινων οἰκετῶν γυμνῶν καὶ διαλεγομένων ὑπὲρ ἐσθήτος οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τὴν ἔντευξιν, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν· Τί γάρ; οἱ διὰ τῆς χώρας ὁδοιποροῦντες γυμνοὶ βαδίζουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἐτοίμην παρέχονται τὴν χορηγίαν τοῖς χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν ἱματίων,<sup>1</sup> ἐπέταξε προσδεῖσαι τοῖς κίσι καὶ πληγὰς ἐμφορήσας ἐξαπέστειλεν ὑπερηφάνως. (Const. Exc. 4, p. 384.)

Chap. 2. 39 : see below, after Chap. 2. 24b.

- 37 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Δαμόφιλος διὰ τὴν αὐθάδειαν καὶ τὴν ὠμότητα τῶν τρόπων οὐκ ἦν ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν οὐκ ἠκίχετό τινας τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπ' αἰτίαις οὐ δικάιαις.<sup>2</sup> οὐχ ἥττον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τούτου Μεταλλίς χαίρουσα ταῖς ὑπερηφάνοις τιμωρίαις ὡμῶς προσεφέρετο ταῖς θεραπαίνισι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς ὑποπεσοῦσιν. καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ὕβριν καὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπεθριώθησαν οἱ δοῦλοι πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους, καὶ διαλαβόντες μηδὲν ἔτι χεῖρον τῶν παρόντων αὐτοῖς κακῶν ἀπαντήσεσθαι. . . .

(Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 304.)

Chap. 2. 38 : see above, after Chap. 2. 36.

- 24b "Ὅτι συνετίθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ δοῦλοι περὶ ἀποστάσεως καὶ φόνου<sup>3</sup> τῶν κυρίων. παρελθόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸν Εὐνουν οὐκ ἄπωθεν διατρίβοντα ἡρώτων εἰ συγχωρεῖται παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς τὸ βεβουλευμένον. ὁ δὲ τερατευόμενος μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ περὶ τίνων ἤκουσι ἀκούσας<sup>4</sup> διεσάφησεν ὅτι διδόασιν αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἐὰν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιησάμενοι παραχρῆμα μὲν<sup>5</sup> ἐγχειρήσωσι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς πεπρω-

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' after ἱματίων deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius : αἰτίας οὐ δικάιαις P.

naked domestics with a request for clothing, Damophilus of Enna impatiently refused to listen. "What!" he said, "do those who travel through the country go naked? Do they not offer a ready source of supply for anyone who needs garments?" Having said this, he ordered them bound to pillars, piled blows on them, and arrogantly dismissed them.

Because of his arbitrary and savage humour not a day passed that this same Damophilus did not torment some of his slaves without just cause. His wife Metallis,<sup>1</sup> who delighted no less in these arrogant punishments, treated her maidservants cruelly, as well as any other slaves who fell into her clutches. And because of the spiteful punishments received from them both, the slaves were filled with rage against their masters, and conceiving that they could encounter nothing worse than their present misfortunes<sup>2</sup> began to form conspiracies to revolt and to murder their masters. Approaching Eunus, who lived not far away, they asked whether their project had the approval of the gods. He put on a display of his inspired transports, and when he learned why they had come, stated clearly that the gods favoured their revolt, provided they made no delay but applied themselves to the enterprise at once; for it was

<sup>1</sup> Her name appears more correctly in Photius (above, chap. 2. 10) as Megallis.

<sup>2</sup> At this point, as is evident from the parallel passage in Photius (§§ 10-11, above), the narrative breaks off in the collection *De virtutibus et vitiis* (§ 37) and is taken up at once (only the subject [οἱ δοῦλοι] being repeated) in the collection *De insidiis* (§ 24b), which has therefore been transferred to its present position.

<sup>3</sup> So Feder (cp. chap. 2. 10) : φόνων S.

<sup>4</sup> ἀκούσας added by Müller.

<sup>5</sup> Müller deletes μὲν.



μένης<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς κεκυρῶσθαι<sup>2</sup> πατρίδα τὴν Ἐνναν, οὖσαν ἀκρόπολιν ὅλης τῆς νήσου. τοιούτων λόγων ἀκούσαντες καὶ διαλαβόντες ὅτι τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς συνεπιλαμβάνεται τῆς προαιρέσεως, οὕτως παρέστησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν τῶν δεδογμένων ποιέσθαι. εὐθύς οὖν τοὺς μὲν δεδεμένους ἔλυνον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς πλησίον διατρίβοντας συλλαβόμενοι περὶ τετρακοσίουσιν συνήθροισαν ἐπὶ τινος ἀγροῦ πλησίον ὄντος τῆς Ἐννης. συνθέμενοι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πίστεις ἐπὶ σφαγίων ἐνόρκους νυκτὸς ποιησάμενοι καθωπλίσθησαν, ὥς ποτ' οὖν ὁ καιρὸς συνεχώρει· πάντες δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ὅπλων τὸν θυμὸν ἀνελάμβανον<sup>3</sup> κατὰ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ὑπερηφάνων κυρίων· καὶ τούτων ἀφηγεῖτο Εὐνους. καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἀλλήλους περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰσέπεσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολλοὺς<sup>4</sup> ἀνήρουν.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 206-207.)

Chap. 2. 25 : see above, after Chap. 2. 24.

39 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἦν τοῦ Δαμοφίλου θυγάτηρ, παρθένος μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀπλότῃτι δὲ τρόπῳ καὶ φιλανθρωπία διαφέρουσα. αὕτη τοὺς μαστιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων αἰεὶ φιλοτίμως εἰώθει παρηγορεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς δεδεμένοις τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπαρκοῦσα διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν θαυμαστῶς ὑπὸ πάντων ἡγαπᾶτο. καὶ τότε οὖν τῆς προγεγεννημένης χάριτος ξενολογησάσης αὐτῇ τὸν παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ἔλεον, οὐ μόνον οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐπιβαλεῖν τῇ κόρῃ τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀθικτον πάσης ὕβρεως τὴν ἀκμὴν αὐτῆς ἐτήρησαν.

<sup>1</sup> So Feder, Müller : πετρωμένης S.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν after κεκυρῶσθαι deleted by Herwerden.

decreed by Fate that Enna, the citadel of the whole island, should be their land. Having heard this, and believing that Providence was assisting them in their project, they were so keenly wrought up for revolt that there was no delay in executing their resolve. At once, therefore, they set free those in bonds, and collecting such of the others as lived near by they assembled about four hundred men at a certain field not far from Enna. After making a compact and exchanging pledges sworn by night over sacrificial victims, they armed themselves in such fashion as the occasion allowed; but all were equipped with the best of weapons, fury, which was bent on the destruction of their arrogant masters. Their leader was Eunus. With cries of encouragement to one another they broke into the city about midnight and put many to the sword.

There was in Sicily a daughter of Damophilus, a girl of marriageable age, remarkable for her simplicity of manner and her kindness of heart. It was always her practice to do all she could to comfort the slaves who were beaten by her parents, and since she also took the part of any who had been put in bonds, she was wondrously loved by one and all for her kindness. So now at this time,<sup>1</sup> since her past favours enlisted in her service the mercy of those to whom she had shown kindness, no one was so bold as to lay violent hands upon the girl, but all maintained her fresh young beauty inviolate. And

<sup>1</sup> i.e. when her family was seized by the revolutionaries. §§ 39-40 correspond to the latter part of § 13. For Hermeias see above, § 14.

<sup>3</sup> So Feder, Müller : ἀνελάμβανεν S.

<sup>4</sup> So Jacoby : τούτους S, τοὺς κυρίους Herwerden.

προχειρισάμενοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους, ὧν ἐκ-  
τενέστατος ἦν Ἑρμείας, ἀπήγαγον εἰς Κατάνην  
πρὸς τινὰς οἰκείους. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 305.)

- 40 "Οτι ἀπηγριωμένων τῶν ἀποστατῶν δούλων πρὸς  
ὅλην τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ τρεπομένων πρὸς  
ἀπαραίτητον ὕβριν καὶ τιμωρίαν, ὑπέφαινον ὥς οὐ  
δι' ὀμότητα φύσεως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας  
εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπερηφανίας ἐλύττων πρὸς τὴν τῶν<sup>1</sup>  
προαδικησάντων<sup>2</sup> κόλασιν τραπέντες.

"Οτι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοδίδακτός ἐστιν  
ἡ φύσις εἰς δικαίαν ἀπόδοσιν χάριτός τε καὶ τι-  
μωρίας. (Const. Exc. 4, p. 384.)

- 41 "Οτι ὁ Εὐνους<sup>3</sup> μετὰ ἀναγορευθῆναι βασιλεὺς  
πάντας ἀνελών, ἐκκλέψας<sup>4</sup> μόνους ἀφήκε τοὺς ἐν  
τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις κατὰ τὰς<sup>5</sup> τοῦ κυρίου συμ-  
περιφορὰς ἐν τοῖς συνδείπνοις ἀποδεδεγμένους αὐ-  
τὸν ἐν τῇ τε μαντικῇ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκ<sup>6</sup> τῆς τρα-  
πέζης δόσεις φιλανθρωπῶς<sup>7</sup>. ὥστε θαυμάσαι ἦν<sup>8</sup>  
τὴν τε τῆς τύχης περιπέτειαν καὶ τὸ τὴν κατὰ<sup>9</sup> τῶν  
εὐτελεστάτων εὐεργεσίαν ἀμειβθῆναι σὺν καιρῷ τη-  
λικαύτῃ χάριτι. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 305.)

- 42 "Οτι Ἀχαιὸς ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου σύμ-  
βουλος τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν δραπετῶν οὐκ  
εὐαρεστούμενος ἐπετίμα τε τοῖς τολμωμένοις ὑπ'  
αὐτῶν καὶ μάλα θρασέως προέλεγεν ὅτι συντόμου

<sup>1</sup> τῶν added by Wifstrand.

<sup>2</sup> So Mai: προαδικησάντων V.

<sup>3</sup> So Salmassius, Valesius (omitting ὁ): ὁ Δαμώφιλος P.

<sup>4</sup> Jacoby suggests ἐκλέξας.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκ after τὰς deleted by Valesius.

<sup>6</sup> ἐκ added by Valesius.

<sup>7</sup> So Valesius *lat.*, van der Mey: φιλάνους P.

selecting suitable men from their number, among  
them Hermeias, her warmest champion, they escorted  
her to the home of certain kinsmen in Catana.

Although the rebellious slaves were enraged  
against the whole household of their masters, and  
resorted to unrelenting abuse and vengeance, there  
were yet some indications that it was not from  
innate savagery but rather because of the arrogant  
treatment they had themselves received that they  
now ran amuck when they turned to avenge them-  
selves on their persecutors.

Even among slaves human nature needs no in-  
structor in regard to a just repayment, whether of  
gratitude or of revenge.

Eunus, after being proclaimed king, put them all<sup>1</sup>  
to death, except for the men who in times past had,  
when his master indulged him, admitted him to their  
banquets, and had shown him courtesy both in respect  
of his prophecies and in their gifts of good things  
from the table; these men he spirited away and set  
free. Here indeed was cause for astonishment: that  
their fortunes should be so dramatically reversed,  
and that a kindness in such trivial matters should be  
requited so opportunely and with so great a boon.

Achaeus, the counsellor of King Antiochus,<sup>2</sup> being  
far from pleased at the conduct of the runaway  
slaves, censured them for their recklessness and  
boldly warned them that they would meet with

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* all the slave-owners. With this excerpt cp. § 8, above.

<sup>2</sup> Antiochus was the royal name assumed by Eunus (see  
above, § 24). The identification of Achaeus as a counsellor  
before he is raised to that rank is no doubt the work of the  
excerptor. On Achaeus see above, § 16.

<sup>3</sup> ἦν added by Nock.

<sup>4</sup> τὸ τὴν κατὰ Valesius: τὸ κατὰ τὴν P.

τεύχονται τιμωρίας. ὃν ὁ Εὐνους παρρησιαζόμενον τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ<sup>1</sup> θανάτου περιβαλεῖν ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἐδωρήσατο τὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύμβουλον ἐποιήσατο. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 384.)

43 \*Οτι καὶ ἄλλη τις ἐγένετο ἀποστάσις δραπετῶν καὶ σύστημα ἀξιόλογον. Κλέων γάρ τις Κίλιξ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τόπων, συνήθης ὢν ἐκ παιδων τῷ ληστρικῷ βίῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν νομεὺς γεγωνὺς ἵπποφορβίων, οὐ διέλιπεν ὁδοιδοκῶν καὶ παντοδαποὺς φόνους ἐπιτελούμενος. ὃς πυθόμενος τὴν κατὰ τὸν Εὐνουν προκοπὴν καὶ τὰς τῶν<sup>2</sup> μετ' αὐτοῦ δραπετῶν εὐημερίας ἀποστάτης ἐγένετο, καὶ τινὰς τῶν πλησίον<sup>3</sup> οἰκετῶν πείσας συναπονοήσασθαι κατέτρεχε τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ τὴν πλησιόχωρον πᾶσαν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 305.)

44 \*Οτι ἡ κατεπείγουσα<sup>4</sup> χρεία καὶ σπάνις ἠνάγκαζε πάντα δοκιμάζειν τοὺς ἀποστάτας δούλους, οὐ διδοῦσα τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων ἐκλογὴν.

45 \*Οτι ὑπῆρχεν οὐ διοσημίας δεόμενον τὸ<sup>5</sup> συλλογίσασθαι τῆς πόλεως τὸ εὐάλωτον. φανερόν γάρ ἦν καὶ τοῖς εὐηθεστάτοις ὅτι τῶν τειχῶν διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην κατερρηκότες καὶ πολλῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς στρατιωτῶν ἀπολωλότων, ἔσται τῆς πόλεως εὐκατόρθωτος ἡ πολιορκία.

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: τῷ V.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν added by Valesius.

<sup>3</sup> So Salmasius, Dindorf: πλησίον P.

<sup>4</sup> So Mai: κατεπείγουσα V.

<sup>5</sup> So Dindorf: τοῦ V.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. § 17, above.

<sup>2</sup> In § 16, above, the haphazard arming of the slaves was mentioned. Possibly, therefore, the present excerpt properly belongs after § 41 or 42.

speedy punishment. So far from putting him to death for his outspokenness, Eunus not only presented him with the house of his former masters but made him a royal counsellor.

There was, in addition, another revolt of fugitive slaves who banded together in considerable numbers.<sup>1</sup> A certain Cleon, a Cilician from the region about Taurus, who was accustomed from childhood to a life of brigandage and had become in Sicily a herder of horses, constantly waylaid travellers and perpetrated murders of all kinds. On hearing the news of Eunus' success and of the victories of the fugitives serving with him, he rose in revolt, and persuading some of the slaves near by to join him in his mad venture overran the city of Acragas and all the surrounding country.

Their pressing needs and their poverty forced the rebel slaves to regard everyone as acceptable, giving them no opportunity to pick and choose.<sup>2</sup>

It needed no portent from the heavens to realize how easily the city could be captured. For it was evident even to the most simple-minded that because of the long period of peace the walls had crumbled, and that now, when many of its soldiers had been killed, the siege of the city would bring an easy success.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Despite the arguments of Jacoby (*FGH*, II C, pp. 206-207), it appears that Diodorus' account of the Servile War was annalistic, not, as in the paraphrase of Photius, a continuous narrative. This is shown by chaps. 8-11, which are separated in the Constantinian collections from the earlier fragments by material that can be dated to 133 B.C. Hence the present fragment (chap. 2. 45) cannot, as Jacoby's arrangement would suggest, be referred to the siege of Tauromenium (§§ 20-21), which occurred in 132 B.C.



46 "Οτι ὁ Εὐνὸς ἐκτὸς βέλους ἐπιστήσας<sup>1</sup> τὴν δύναν-  
 μιν ἐβλασφήμει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀποφαινόμενος οὐχ  
 ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλ' ἐκείνους εἶναι δραπέτας τῶν κινδύνων.  
 μίμους δὲ ἐξ ἀποστάσεως τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπεδείκνυτο, δι'  
 ὧν οἱ δοῦλοι τὰς ἀπὸ<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἰδίων κυρίων ἀποστασίας<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐξεθεάτριζον, ὀνειδίζοντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπερφηανίαν  
 καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον προαγωγῆς  
 ὕβρεως.

47 "Οτι τὰ ἐξηλλαγμένα δυστυχήματα, εἰ καὶ τινες  
 πεπεισμένοι τυγχάνουσι μηδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπι-  
 στροφῇν ποιεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' οὖν γε σύμφορόν  
 ἔστι τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ τὴν ἐκ θεῶν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐν-  
 τετηκέναι ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ψυχαῖς. ὀλίγοι γὰρ οἱ<sup>4</sup>  
 δι' ἀρετὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοπραγοῦντες, τὸ δὲ πολὺ  
 φύλον τῶν ἀνθρώπων νομικαῖς κολάσεσι καὶ ταῖς  
 ἐκ θεοῦ τιμωρίαις ἀπέχεται τῶν κακουργημάτων.

48 "Οτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν ἐπισυμβάν-  
 των τοῖς Σικελιώταις, τούτοις ἅπασιν ὁ δημοτικὸς  
 ὄχλος οὐχ οἷον συνέπασχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἐπ-  
 ἔχαιρε προσεπιφθονῶν ἀνίσου τύχης καὶ ἀνωμάλου  
 ζωῆς. ὁ γὰρ φθόνος ἐκ τῆς προγεγεννημένης λύπης  
 μετέβαλεν εἰς χαράν, ὁρῶν τὸ λαμπρὸν τῆς τύχης  
 μεταπεπτωκὸς εἰς τὸ πρότερον ὑπ' αὐτῆς ὑπερ-  
 ορώμενον σχῆμα, καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, οἱ  
 μὲν ἀποστάται προνοηθέντες ἐμφρόνως περὶ τοῦ μέλ-  
 λοντος οὔτε τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐνεπύριζον οὔτε τὰς ἐν  
 αὐταῖς κτήσεις καὶ καρπῶν ἀποθέσεις ἐλυμαίνοντο,  
 τῶν τε πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν ὀρμηκότων ἀπεύχοντο,  
 οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: ἐπιστατήσας V.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ added by Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> προστασίας Dindorf (ed. 4, Corr.).

Eunus, having stationed his army out of range of  
 their missiles, taunted the Romans by declaring that  
 it was they, and not his men, who were runaways  
 from battle. For the inhabitants of the city, at a  
 safe distance (?), he staged a production of mimes,  
 in which the slaves acted out scenes of revolt from  
 their individual masters, heaping abuse on their arro-  
 gance and the inordinate insolence that had led to  
 their destruction.

As for unusual strokes of ill fortune, even though  
 some persons may be convinced that Providence  
 has no concern with anything of the sort, yet surely  
 it is to the interest of society that the fear of the  
 gods should be deeply embedded in the hearts of  
 the people. For those who act honestly because  
 they are themselves virtuous are but few, and the  
 great mass of humanity abstain from evil-doing only  
 because of the penalties of the law and the retribu-  
 tion that comes from the gods.

When these many great troubles fell upon the  
 Sicilians, the common people were not only unsym-  
 pathetic, but actually gloated over their plight, being  
 envious because of the inequality in their respective  
 lots, and the disparity in their modes of life. Their  
 envy, from being a gnawing canker, now turned to  
 joy, as it beheld the once resplendent lot of the rich  
 changed and fallen into a condition such as was  
 formerly beneath their very notice. Worst of all,  
 though the rebels, making prudent provision for the  
 future, did not set fire to the country estates nor  
 damage the stock or the stored harvests, and ab-  
 stained from harming anyone whose pursuit was  
 agriculture, the populace, making the runaway slaves

<sup>4</sup> οἱ added by Herwerden.

τῶν δραπετῶν ἐξιόντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν οὐ μόνον τὰς κτήσεις διήρπαζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐνεπύριζον.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 384-385.)

3. "Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς προσιφάτως διαδεδεγμένος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἔσχε διάθεσιν τῶν προβεβασιλευκότων.<sup>1</sup> καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι χρηστότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία χρώμενοι ταῖς βασιλείαις ἐνευδαιμόνησαν· οὗτος δὲ γενόμενος ὤμους καὶ μαιφόνους πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν τεταγμένων ἀνηκέστοις συμφοραῖς καὶ σφαγαῖς περιέβαλε. τῶν δὲ πατρῶων φίλων τοὺς δυνατάτους ὑποπτεύσας ὡς κατ' αὐτοῦ τι βουλευσάμενους, ἔκρινε δεῖν ἅπαντας ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι. ἐπιλεξάμενος οὖν τῶν βαρβάρων μισθοφόρων τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους εἰς φόνον, ἀπλήστους δὲ εἰς χρημάτων περιουσίαν, τούτους ἐν τισιν οἰκήμασι κατέκρυψεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, τῶν δὲ φίλων τοὺς ὑποπτευομένους μετεπέμπετο. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν φίλων . . .<sup>2</sup> πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔχων ὑπηρέτας οἰκείους τῆς ἰδίας μαιφονίας. εὐθὺς δὲ τέκνα καὶ γυναικας τούτων προσέταξε τῆς αὐτῆς τιμωρίας ἀξιῶσαι. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φίλων τῶν ἐπ' ἐξουσίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἢ πόλεων τεταγμένων οὓς μὲν ἐδολοφόνησεν, οὓς δὲ συλλαβὼν πανοικίους ἀνείλε. διὰ δὲ<sup>3</sup> τὴν ὁμότητα μισθηεῖς οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πάντας τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ἐποίησε μετεώρους πρὸς καινοτομίαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 305-306.)

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: προβασιλευκότων P.

a pretext, made sallies into the country and with the malice of envy not only plundered the estates but set fire to the buildings as well.

3. In Asia King Attalus, soon after his accession to the throne,<sup>1</sup> adopted an attitude markedly different from that of his predecessors. For they, by practising kindness and benevolence, had prospered in their kingship; he, however, being cruel and bloodthirsty, visited on many of those subject to his rule irremediable disaster or death. Suspecting the most powerful of his father's friends of having formed designs against him, he decided that all must be put out of the way. Accordingly, he selected the most savagely murderous of his barbarian mercenaries, men who were also insatiate in their thirst for gold, and concealing them in certain chambers of the palace sent in turn for the friends who were under suspicion. When they appeared . . . he had them all killed, for his underlings were as bloodthirsty as himself, and he gave immediate orders to inflict the same harsh treatment on their wives and children also. Of the other friends, those who had been appointed to commands in the army or as governors of cities, he had some assassinated, while others he arrested and put to death with their entire households. Because of his cruelty he was hated not only by everyone subject to him but by the neighbouring peoples as well. Thus he stirred all his subjects to hope for a revolution.

<sup>1</sup> Attalus III came to the throne in 139/8 B.C., but since the present account follows the outbreak of the Servile War, it was probably reserved for the occasion of his death in 133 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The text of P shows a lacuna at this point.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ added by Valesius.

4. "Οτι οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀλόντων βαρβάρων κατὰ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ἀγόμενοι οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἀνῆρουν, οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τὴν ἐκ τῆς δουλείας ὕβριν. παῖς δέ τις ἀνηβος παραστὰς τριὺν ἀδελφαῖς κοιμωμέναις διὰ τὸν κόπον, ταύτας ἀπέσφαξεν· ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐ φθάσας ἀνελεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν συλλαβόντων ἀνεκρίνετο δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἀπέκτεινε. τούτοις μὲν οὖν ἀπεκρίθη διότι τοῦ ζῆν οὐδὲν ἄξιον αὐταῖς κατελέλειπτο,<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ τροφῆς ἀποσχόμενος ἐνδεῖα κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.
- 2 "Οτι οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας κατήντησαν, ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν τε γῆν κατεφίλουν μετ' οἰμωγῆς καὶ τῆς κόνεως εἰς τοὺς κόλπους ἀνελάμβανον, ὥστε εἰς ἔλεον καὶ συμπάθειαν ἅπαν τραπήναι<sup>2</sup> τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἕκαστος γὰρ τοῖς κοινοῖς τῆς φύσεως πάθεισιν ἐχειροῦτο θείῳ φόβῳ, θεωρῶν ὅτι καὶ βαρβάρων ψυχὰι θηριώδεις, ὅταν ἡ τύχη διαζευγνύῃ τὸ σύνθητες ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπιλανθάνονται τῆς πρὸς τὴν θρέψασαν γῆν φιλοστοργίας. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 386.)
5. "Οτι Τιβέριος ὁ Γράκχος ἦν υἱὸς Τιβερίου τοῦ<sup>3</sup> δις ὑπατευκότος καὶ πολέμου ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ μεγάλους κεχειρικότος, ἔτι δὲ καλῶς πεπολιτευμένου, θυγατριδοῦς δὲ Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ καταπεπολεμηκότος Ἀννίβαν καὶ Καρχηδονίους. ἐξ ἀμφο-

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: καταλέλειπτο V.

<sup>2</sup> ἅπαν τραπήναι Dindorf<sup>4</sup>: ἐπανατραπήναι V, τραπήναι Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ added by Herwerden.

4. Most of the captive barbarians,<sup>1</sup> while they <sup>133 B.C. (?)</sup> were being marched away, committed suicide or killed one another, being unwilling to tolerate the indignity of servitude. One, a mere lad, went up to his three sisters as they lay sleeping from exhaustion and cut their throats. Thwarted in his attempt to do away with himself as well, he was asked by his captors why he had killed his sisters. He replied that there was nothing worth living for left to them. He himself, by refusing to eat, ended his life by starvation.

These same captives, on reaching the boundaries of their land, threw themselves to the ground and with cries of lamentation kissed the earth and even collected some of the dust in the folds of their garments, whereat all the army was moved to pity and sympathy. Each man, touched by the emotions common to humankind, was overcome with a sense of divine awe as he perceived that even barbarians, brutelike in spirit though they were, when fortune broke the customary bond between them and their native land, did not forget their fond affection for the sod that had reared them.

5. Tiberius Gracchus<sup>2</sup> was a son of that Tiberius <sup>133 B.C.</sup> who had been twice consul, had conducted brilliant and important military affairs, and had had an honourable political career. Through his mother he was also a grandson of Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But quite apart

<sup>1</sup> This chapter probably relates to the fall of Numantia (cp. Appian, *Hisp.* 96-98).

<sup>2</sup> Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, the famous tribune of 133 B.C. His father, of the same name, was consul in 177 and 163 B.C.; his mother was Cornelia, hardly less famous than her ill-starred sons, Tiberius and Gaius.



τέρων δὲ τῶν γονέων ἐπισημοτάτου γένους πεφυκῶς  
ιδίᾳ πολὺ προεῖχε τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῇ<sup>1</sup> συνέσει τε καὶ  
λόγου δεινότητι καὶ τὸ σύνολον πάσῃ παιδείᾳ, καὶ  
δυνάμενος παρρησίαν ἄγειν πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν  
ἀντιπραττόντων. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 306.)

6. Καὶ συνέρρεον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην οἱ ὄχλοι ἀπὸ  
τῆς χώρας ὡσπερὶ ποταμοὶ τινες εἰς τὴν πάντα  
δυναμένην δέχεσθαι θάλατταν. οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι μετεω-  
ρισθέντες πρὸς τὸ βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, νόμον μὲν ἔχον-  
τες ἡγεμόνα καὶ σύμμαχον, προστάτην δὲ ἄρχοντα  
τὸν μήτε χάριτος μήτε φόβου δοῦλον, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ  
τὴν χώραν ἀνακτήσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ πάντα πόνον  
καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπομένειν κεκρικότα μέχρι τῆς ἐσχά-  
της ἀναπνοῆς. . . .

2 . . . ἔχων πλήθος οὐ νεοσύλλογον καὶ φυλῶδες,<sup>2</sup>  
ἀλλὰ τὸ πρακτικώτατον τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῖς βίοις  
κάρπιμον. διὸ καὶ τῆς βίας ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς  
μέρεσιν ταλαντευομένης καὶ τῆς ῥοπῆς δεῦρο κἀ-  
κεῖσε πάλιν ἐκκλινούσης, πολλῶν μυριάδων ἡθροισ-  
μένων τὰ μέρη βιαίως συνίσταντο καὶ καθάπερ  
ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κυμάτων φαντασίαι καὶ διαθέσεις  
ἐγίνοντο κατὰ τὰς τοῦ πλήθους ἐκκλησίας.

7. Ὅτι ὁ Ὀκτάβιος μετὰ τὴν καθαιρεσιν οὐθ'  
ὁμολογῶν ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην ὑπάρχειν οὐθ' ὡς ἄρχων  
τολμῶν πράξαι τι δημαρχικόν, ἔμενε κατὰ τὴν  
ιδίαν οἰκίαν ἡσυχάζων. καίτοι γε ἐξῆν πρὶν<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν  
οὕτως ἔχειν, ὅτε ὁ Γράκχος εἰσέφερε ψήφισμα περὶ

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῇ Salmasius, Büttner-Wobst: τῇ τῶν  
ἡλικιωτῶν P, τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν Valesius, Vulgate.

<sup>2</sup> ὄχλῳδες Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> πρὶν added by Herwerden. Or perhaps add ἡ below,  
before ἀκείνῳ?

from his position as the scion of a distinguished family  
on both sides, even in his own right he towered  
above the men of his generation in sagacity, in skill  
as a speaker, and, in short, in every acquirement;  
and he was competent to hold his own in debate  
despite the greater prestige of his opponents.

6. The crowds poured into Rome from the country  
like rivers into the all-receptive sea. Buoyed up with  
the hope of effecting their own salvation, since the  
law was their leader and ally, and their champion a  
man subject neither to favour nor to fear—a man,  
moreover, who for the sake of restoring the land to  
the people was determined to endure any toil or  
danger, to his last breath. . . .

. . . while his<sup>1</sup> was not a group just recently  
assembled and drawn from many tribes, but com-  
prised the most politically alert and the well-to-do  
segments of the populace. Since, then, the strength  
on both sides was evenly balanced, and the scales  
tipped now this way, now that, the two parties,  
being assembled many thousands strong, clashed  
violently, and in the public assemblies there appeared  
billowing forms and patterns like waves of the sea.

7. Octavius,<sup>2</sup> after being deposed, though refusing  
to acknowledge that he was a private citizen, yet did  
not dare to exercise as a magistrate the tribunician  
powers, but stayed quietly at home. Yet before  
ever he reached this state, he too had the oppor-  
tunity, when Gracchus first proposed the plebiscite

<sup>1</sup> The reference is clearly to some opponent of Gracchus,  
perhaps Octavius, since Plutarch (*Ti. Gracch.* 10) speaks of  
their almost daily debates before the people.

<sup>2</sup> M. Octavius, Tiberius' colleague in the tribunate, who  
opposed his agrarian legislation and was deposed from  
office.

τῆς κατ' ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ, κακεῖνον ἄμα ψήφισμα κυροῦν περιέχον τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς Γράκχου δημαρχίας· ἣ γὰρ ἂν ἐκάτεροι κατέστησαν ἰδιῶται τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐννόμων ὄντων, ἣ πάλιν διακατεῖχον τὴν ἀρχὴν δοξάντων παρανόμως εἰσηγνέχθαι.<sup>1</sup>

2 Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀμετάπτωτον ἔχων τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον ὁρμὴν ταχὺ τῆς προσηκούσης κολάσεως ἔτυχεν. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ξύλον ἀρπάσας ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων, ὁ γὰρ θυμὸς παντὸς τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι δυσκόλου περιεγένετο. . . .

3 Ὅτι προσέπεσε τοῖς περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἡ τοῦ Γράκχου τελευτῇ, καὶ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν φασιν ἐπιβοῇσαι τοιαῦτα,<sup>2</sup>

ὥς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 386-387.)

8. Ὅτι οἱ Σύροι οἱ δραπεταὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτον, οὐκ ἀρκοῦμενοι ταῖς παρὰ τοὺς καρποὺς τομαῖς, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βραχίονσιν ἀκρωτηριάζοντες.<sup>3</sup> (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 306.)

9. Ὅτι τοῖς καταφαγοῦσι τοὺς ἱερωμένους ἰχθύς οὐκ ἦν παῦλα τῶν κακῶν· τὸ γὰρ δαιμόνιον ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες εἰς παραδειγματισμὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀπονενοημένους περιεῖδεν ἀβοηθήτους. οὗτοι

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf (ed. 4, corr.): ἐπενηέχθαι V.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby deletes τοιαῦτα.

<sup>3</sup> So Reiske: βραχίονσιν συνακρωτηριάζοντες P.

<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 11. 3-4, Tiberius felt that one or the other (not both) must go, and offered Octavius the privilege of introducing a prior motion to depose Tiberius.

<sup>2</sup> Tiberius Gracchus.

<sup>3</sup> P. Scipio Nasica Serapio, at this time *pontifex maximus*,

on his removal from office, to agree to a simultaneous motion<sup>1</sup> that would have embraced the removal of Gracchus from the tribunate. In that case, either they would both have become private citizens if the proposals were legal, or both would have continued in office if the proposals were adjudged unconstitutional.

Since he<sup>2</sup> was heading straight for destruction, he speedily met with the punishment he merited. Scipio,<sup>3</sup> seizing a club that lay ready at hand—for his anger prevailed over any seeming difficulties. . . .

The news of the death of Gracchus reached the camp, and Africanus<sup>4</sup> is said to have cried out:

"So perish any other besides, who does such deeds."

8. The runaway "Syrian"<sup>5</sup> slaves cut off the hands of their captives, but not content with amputation at the wrist included arms and all in the mutilation.

9. Those who ate of the sacred fish<sup>6</sup> found no relief from their pains. For the Divine Power, as if with the intention of holding up an example to deter the others, left all those who had acted so madly to suffer unsuccoured. And since in keeping

who led the senatorial band of assassins (cp. below, chap. 33. 6-7, and Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 19).

<sup>4</sup> P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, who was now at Numantia. His words are a quotation from Homer, *Od.* 1. 47. Cp. Plutarch, *op. cit.* 21.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. the followers of Eunus: cp. above, chap. 2. 24.

<sup>6</sup> The sacred fish were undoubtedly those of the fountain of Arethusa at Syracuse, sacred to Artemis (see Book 5. 3), and the offenders the rebellious "Syrian" slaves. The punishment was particularly apt as sacred fish were a regular feature of the cult of the Syrian goddess, and were taboo to her worshippers: see *Oxf. Class. Dict. s.v.* "Fish, Sacred."

μὲν οὖν ἀκολούθως τῇ παρὰ θεῶν κολάσει καὶ τῆς διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας βλασφημίας<sup>1</sup> τετευχότες ἀπέλυσαν<sup>2</sup> τῆς δικαίας ἐπιτιμῆσεως.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 387.)

10. "Ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος δεισιδαιμονοῦσα ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς Σικελίαν<sup>3</sup> κατὰ Σιβυλλιακὸν λόγιον. οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες καθ' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν τοὺς τῷ Αἰτναίῳ Διὶ καθιδρυμένους βωμούς, θυσιάσαντες καὶ περιφράγματα ποιήσαντες ἀβάτους ἀπεδείκνυντο τοὺς τόπους πλὴν τοῖς ἔχουσι<sup>4</sup> καθ' ἕκαστον πολίτευμα πατέριους θύειν θυσίας.

11. "Ὅτι ἦν τις Γοργὸς Μοργαντίνος ἐπικαλούμενος Κάμβalos, πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέρων, ὃς ἐπὶ κινηγίαν ὁρμήσας καὶ περιπεσὼν ληστηρίῳ δραπετῶν ἔφευγε πεζὸς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ Γοργοῦ τοῦ τούτου πατρὸς ἐφ' ἵππου καὶ καθαλομένου<sup>5</sup> καὶ παραδιδόντος τὸν ἵππον, ὅπως ἐφαλόμενος<sup>6</sup> ἀφιππεύσῃ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οὐθ' ὁ παῖς τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς προέκρινεν οὐθ' ὁ πατήρ προσεδέχετο τῷ τοῦ τέκνου θανάτῳ διαφνυεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον. δεομένων δὲ ἀλλήλων μετὰ δακρύων καὶ διαφιλοτιμουμένων ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τε καὶ φιλοστοργίας, σύγκρισιν τε λαμβάνοντος ἡθους φιλοτέκνου πρὸς τρόπον φιλοπάτορα, συνέβη τοὺς ληστὰς ἐπιφανέντας ἀμφοτέρους ἀνελεῖν.

12. "Ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Διηγύλιος υἱὸς Ζιβέλμιος, ἐξη-

<sup>1</sup> τῆς . . . βλασφημίας Dindorf: τῇ . . . βλασφημίᾳ V.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἀπῆλυσαν V.

<sup>3</sup> περὶ τοὺς Σιβυλλῆς χρησμούς after Σικελίαν deleted by Dindorf. <sup>4</sup> ἔθος ἔχουσι Herwerden.

<sup>5</sup> So Dindorf<sup>4</sup>: καθαλλομένου P.

<sup>6</sup> So Dindorf<sup>4</sup>: ἐφαλλόμενος P.

with the retribution visited on them by the gods they have also received abuse in the pages of history, they have indeed reaped a just reward.

10. The senate, prompted by religious scruples, sent a delegation to Sicily in accordance with an oracle of the Sibylline Books.<sup>1</sup> They visited throughout Sicily the altars set up to Aetnaean Zeus; here they offered sacrifice and fenced in the areas, and forbade access to them except in the case of those in each state who had traditional sacrifices to perform.

11. There was a certain Gorgus of Morgantina,<sup>2</sup> c. 133/1 B.C. surnamed Cambalus, a man of wealth and good standing, who, having gone out hunting, happened upon a robber-nest of fugitive slaves, and tried to escape on foot to the city. His father, Gorgus, chancing to meet him on horseback, jumped down and offered him the horse that he might mount and ride off to the city. But the son did not choose to save himself at his father's expense, nor was the father willing to make good his escape from danger by letting his son die. While they were still pleading with one another, both in tears, and were engaged in a contest of piety and affection, as paternal devotion vied with a son's love for his father, the bandits appeared on the scene and killed them both.

12. Zibelmios, the son of Diégylis,<sup>3</sup> emulating his

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Verr.* 4. 108, mentions this embassy, which was prompted by portents following the assassination of Gracchus, but states that it was sent to the temple of Ceres at Enna.

<sup>2</sup> The date of chapters 11-13 is determined only by the position of the fragments.

<sup>3</sup> On Diégylis see Book 33. 14. The son's name appears below as Ziselmius, and in Valerius Maximus, 9. 2, Ext. 4, as Zisemis.



λακῶς τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς μαιφονίας, μνησικακῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς Διήγυλιν τοῖς Θραξὶ πραχθέντων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προήλθεν ὡμότητος καὶ παρανομίας ὥστε τοὺς προσκόψαντας πανοικίους τιμωρεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ ταῖς τυχούσαις αἰτίαις τοὺς μὲν διεμέλιζε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνεσταύρου, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἐνεπύριζε.<sup>1</sup> γονέων δὲ ἐν ὄμμασι καὶ κόλποις ἐγκατέσφαζε τέκνα, καὶ κρεανομῶν τὰ σώματα παρετίθει τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις, ἀνανεούμενος τὰς παλαιὰς ἐκεῖνας Τηρέως ἢ Θυέστου θοινὰς. οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες συλλαβόντες τὸν Ζισέλμιον, τὸ μὲν καθ' ἐν αὐτὸν ἀντιδιατιθέναι σχεδὸν ἀδύνατον ὑπῆρχε· πῶς γὰρ ἐνδεχόμενον ἦν ἐν σώμα τὴν εἰς ὅλον ἔθνος παρανομίαν γενομένην<sup>2</sup> ἀναδέξασθαι; ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν πᾶσαν ὕβριν καὶ τιμωρίαν προσαγαγεῖν τῷ σώματι.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 306-307.)

13. Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀττάλου τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως χρηστηριαζομένου περὶ τίνος, ἀπαντοματίσαι<sup>3</sup> τὴν Πυθίαν φασί

Θάρσει, ταυρόκερως, ἔξεις βασιληίδα τιμὴν  
καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τούτων γε μὲν<sup>4</sup> οὐκέτι παῖδες.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 387.)

14. Ὅτι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φύσκων προσαγορευόμενος πυθόμενος τὴν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτρίωσιν καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος ἄλλως αὐτὴν λυπῆ-

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: ἐνεπύριζε P.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius: γινομένην P.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: ἐπαντοματίσαι V.

<sup>4</sup> So Mai: μὴν V.

father's thirst for blood and nursing his anger at what the Thracians had done to Diēgylis, went to such lengths of cruelty and lawlessness that he exacted punishment from those who offended him together with all their households. On the most trivial provocation he tore men limb from limb, or crucified them, or burned them alive. He slaughtered children before the eyes of their parents or in a parent's arms, and carving up their bodies would serve them to the closest of kin, reviving the storied banquets of Tereus and Thyestes. Finally the Thracians laid hands on Ziselmios, and though it was virtually impossible to retaliate upon him for his individual offences—for how could a single body make satisfaction for violence perpetrated against a whole nation?—nevertheless, within the range of what was possible, they exerted themselves to visit every indignity and punishment upon his person.

13. When the first King Attalus consulted the oracle on some matter the Pythia is said to have volunteered this response:

Be of stout heart, thou of the bull horns, thou shalt  
bear kingly honour,  
Thou and thy children's children, but the children  
of these no longer.<sup>1</sup>

14. Ptolemy, nicknamed Physcon, having dis- 121/0 B.C.  
covered Cleopatra's estrangement from him and being unable to wound her in any other way, had

<sup>1</sup> For the oracle see Suidas, s.v. Ἀτταλος, and cp. Pausanias, 10. 15. 3. The title "bull-horned" refers to the Attalid claim of descent from Dionysus. The oracle was perhaps mentioned here in connection with the will of Attalus III leaving his kingdom to Rome, or with the career of Aristonicus.

σαι, πράξιν ἀνοσιωτάτην ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιτελέσασθαι· μιμησάμενος γὰρ τὴν τῆς Μηδείας ὠμότητα καὶ μαιφονίαν τὸν κοινὸν αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> τε κάκεινης υἱὸν ἔσφαξεν ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ, παῖδα μὲν ὄντα τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὀνομαζόμενον δὲ Μεμφίτην. οὐκ ἄρκεσθεις<sup>2</sup> δὲ τῷ ἀσεβήματι τούτῳ πολλῶ μείζον μύσος ἕτερον ἐπέτελέσατο· ἀκρωτηριάσας γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐνθεῖς εἰς τινα κίστην<sup>3</sup> προσέταξέ τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διακομίσαι. κατὰ τύχην δὲ συνεγγυς ὄντων τῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ τῶν γενεθλίων, τῇ πρὸ τούτων νυκτὶ θείναι τὴν κίστην πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων παρεσκευάσατο. οὐ συντελεσθέντος καὶ τῆς περιστάσεως ἐπιγνωσθείσης, ἡ Κλεοπάτρα πένθος ἤρατο, καὶ τὸ πλήθος παντελῶς ἀπεθηριώθη πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 307-308.)

15. Ὅτι τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὥρας τῇ χλιᾷ τηκούσης τὴν χιόνα καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεχοῦς πάγου πρὸς τὴν φυὴν καὶ βλάστησιν προϊόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὠρμημένων, ὁ Ἀρσάκης ἀποπειραθῆναι βουλόμενος τῶν πολεμίων πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε περὶ εἰρήνης, οἷς Ἀντίοχος ἀντέδωκεν<sup>4</sup> ἀποκρίσεις διότι συγχωρήσει τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν τὸν μὲν<sup>5</sup> ἀδελφὸν Δημήτριον ἀπολύσας τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας παραδῷ, τῶν δὲ δυναστειῶν τῶν ἀφρηρημένων ἐκχωρήσῃ, τὴν δὲ πάτριον δυναστείαν ἔχων τελῇ φό-

<sup>1</sup> κοινὸν αὐτοῦ Valesius : κοινόν (*s. acc.*) P, οἰκεῖον Büttner-Wobst.

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἄρκεσθεις Valesius : οὐκαρκεσθεις P.

<sup>3</sup> So Valesius : κηστιν (*s. acc.*) P (κηστιν below).

<sup>4</sup> So Boissevain : μετέδωκεν V, μὲν ἔδωκεν Dindorf, ἔδωκεν Herwerden.

<sup>5</sup> μὲν added by Herwerden.

the audacity to commit a most wicked deed. Copying the murderous savagery of Medea, he put to death, in Cyprus, his own son and hers, a mere boy who was known as Memphites.<sup>1</sup> Not content with this act of impiety, he committed another, far more heinous, abomination. After mutilating the body of the boy and placing it in a chest, he ordered one of his servants to convey it to Alexandria : for since the birthday of Cleopatra was approaching, he had made arrangements to set the chest down in front of the palace on the eve of the occasion. This was done, and when the circumstance became known Cleopatra put on mourning and the populace went completely wild with rage against Ptolemy.

15. When spring with its warmth was melting the snow and crops were now, after the long period of frost, beginning to develop and grow, and men too were resuming their activity, Arsaces,<sup>2</sup> wishing to feel out his enemies, sent envoys to discuss terms of peace. In reply Antiochus told them that he would agree to the peace if Arsaces would release his brother Demetrius from captivity and send him home, if he would withdraw from the satrapies that he had seized by force, and if, retaining only his ancestral domain, he would pay tribute. Arsaces,

<sup>1</sup> In 133/1 B.C. the long-standing dissension between Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physcon) and his sister, Cleopatra II, came to a head and he was forced out of Alexandria, finding refuge in Cyprus. The murder of Memphites, related also by Justin, 38. 8. 13-15, probably occurred late in 131 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Arsaces VII Phraates II. In 130 B.C. Antiochus VII Euergetes (Sidetes), the brother of Demetrius II, defeated the Parthians in three battles and recovered Babylonia and Media. The following spring, while his army was still scattered in winter quarters, Antiochus was killed in a surprise attack.

ρον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκης προσκόψας τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὤρμησεν.

16. "Ὅτι τῶν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου φίλων παρακαλούντων μὴ συνάπτειν μάχην πρὸς πολλαπλάσιους Πάρθους, δύνασθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ὑπερκειμένην<sup>1</sup> ὄρεινὴν καταφυγόντας ἀποτρίψασθαι τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων κίνδυνον, ὁ Ἀντίοχος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ προσεδέχετο τοὺς λόγους, ἀποφαινόμενος αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τοὺς νενικηκότας δεδιέναι τὰς τῶν προηττημένων τόλμας. παρακάλεσας οὖν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ἀνεδέχετο τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφόδον εὐρόστως.

17. "Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀναμαθόντες τὸν θάνατον Ἀντιόχου οὐ μόνον κοινὸν ἢ πόλιν ἐπήρατο πένθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς ἰδιωτικὸς οἶκος κατηφείας καὶ θρήνων ἐπληροῦτο, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὀδυρμοῦ τὸ πάθος ἐκκάντος. τριάκοντα γὰρ μυριάδων ἀπολομένων σὺν τοῖς ἐκτὸς τῆς τάξεως ἀναβεβηκόσιν οὐκ ἦν εὐρεῖν οἰκίαν ἄμοιρον ἀτυχήματος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς αἱ δὲ ἀνδρας αἱ δὲ υἱοὺς ἀπολωλότας ἐπένθουν, πολλοὶ δὲ παρθένοι καὶ παῖδες ὀρφανοὶ γεγονότες τὴν ἔρημίαν ἑαυτῶν κατωδύροντο, μέχρις ὅτου τῆς λύπης ὁ κάλλιστος ἱατρὸς χρόνος ἐξέλυσε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ πένθους.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 387-388.)

2 "Ὅτι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀντιόχου Ἀθήναιος πλείστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισταθμίαις ἐργασμένος κακά, τῆς φυγῆς κατάρξας καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐγκαταλιπὼν τῆς προσήκουσας καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε. διεκπεσόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινὰς κώμας ἡδικομένας ἐν ταῖς ἐπισταθμίαις, οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο εἰς οἰκίαν οὐδὲ<sup>2</sup>

taking offence at the harshness of the reply, placed an army in the field against him.

16. His friends pleaded with Antiochus not to join battle with the far more numerous Parthian hordes, since they, by taking refuge in the mountainous country that overlooked them, with its rough terrain, could neutralize the threat of his cavalry. Antiochus, however, completely disregarded their advice, remarking that it was disgraceful for the victorious to fear any ventures of those whom they had previously defeated. So, exhorting his men to the fray, he awaited with stout heart the onslaught of the barbarians.

17. When Antioch received the news of Antiochus' death, not only did the city go into public mourning, but every private house as well was dejected and filled with lamentation. Above all, the wailing of the women enflamed their grief. Indeed, since three hundred thousand men had been lost, including those who had accompanied the army as supernumeraries, not a household could be found that was exempt from misfortune. Some were mourning the loss of brothers, some of husbands, and some of sons, while many girls and boys, left orphaned, wept for their own bereavement, till at last Time, the best healer of grief, dulled the edge of their sorrow.

Athenaeus, the general of Antiochus, who in billeting his soldiers had done many wrongs, was the first to take flight. But though he abandoned Antiochus, he met the end he deserved, for when in his flight he reached certain villages that he had mistreated in connection with quartering his men, no one would admit him to his home or share food

<sup>1</sup> So Herwerden: ὑποκειμένην V.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: οὔτε P.



τροφῆς μετέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀλώμενος λιμῶ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 308.)

18. Ὅτι Ἀρσάκης ὁ Πάρθων βασιλεὺς καταπολεμηκῶς Ἀντίοχον διανοεῖτο καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν, ἐλπίζων ραδίως αὐτῆς κυριεύσειν. οὐ μὴν ἔξουσίαν γ' ἔλαβε<sup>1</sup> τῆς στρατείας, ἀλλὰ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐπιτετευγμένων<sup>2</sup> ἢ τύχῃ πολλαπλασίους αὐτῷ κινδύνους καὶ συμφορὰς ἐπέστησεν. οἶμαι γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς δίδοται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπίτηδες τοῖς μὲν καλοῖς τὰ<sup>3</sup> φαῦλα, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς<sup>4</sup> ἐπεισάγει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὸ δαιμόνιον. οὐ μὴν ἡ τύχῃ γε ἐπελάθετο τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ κοπιῶσα τῷ τοῦς αὐτοῦς συνεχῶς εὖ ποιεῖν, τηλικαύτην τὴν παλίσροϊαν εἰργάσατο τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς ὥστε τοὺς εὐημεροῦντας εἰς τέλος ταπεινῶσαι.

19. Ὅτι Ἀρσάκης ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς ἄλλοτριῶς πρὸς Σελευκεῖς διακείμενος καὶ μνησικακῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὕβρεσι καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις αἷς ἐχρήσαντο κατ' Ἐνίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τῶν Σελευκῶν ἀποστειλάντων πρέσβεις καὶ παρακαλούντων συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενομένοις καὶ βουλομένων αὐτῶν ἀπόκρισιν λαβεῖν, ἤγαγε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὐπὲρ Πιτιθίδης τυφλὸς<sup>5</sup> ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκτετυφλωμένος, καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπαγγέλλειν τοῖς Σελευκεῦσιν ὅτι πάντας αὐτοὺς δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ παθεῖν. οἱ δὲ φοβηθέντες τῶν μὲν προγεγενημένων

<sup>1</sup> γ' ἔλαβε Herwerden : ἀνέλαβε V, ἔλαβε Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf : ἐπιτεταγμένων V.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ added by Herwerden.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf : δικαίοις V.

with him, and he roamed the countryside until he perished of starvation.

18. Arsaces, king of the Parthians, having crushed Antiochus, was minded to advance upon Syria, thinking that it would fall an easy prey. He did not, however, find it in his power to make the campaign ; far from it, for because of the magnitude of his successes, Fortune set in his way perils and misfortunes many times as great. It is, I think, true that no unmixed blessing is granted to man by God ; as if on purpose the Divine Power sees that fortune and misfortune, good and evil, succeed one another. Of a certainty Fortune did not on this occasion forget her proper nature, but as if fatigued by the bestowal of continuous favour on the same men, she contrived so great a turn of the tide in the whole conflict that the hitherto successful side was now completely humbled.<sup>1</sup>

19. Arsaces, king of the Parthians, was angry with the people of Seleucia<sup>2</sup> and bore them a grudge for the despites and punishments that they had inflicted on his general, Enius. When they sent a mission to him, pleading to win pardon for what had taken place, and pressed him for an answer, he led the envoys to the place where blind Pitthides sat on the ground, his eyes gouged out, and bade them report to the men of Seleucia that they must all suffer the same fate. Thoroughly alarmed, they

<sup>1</sup> In 129 or 128 B.C. Phraates was to fall in battle against the invading Sacas.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Seleucia on the Tigris, which Phraates had recovered by his defeat of Sidetes.

<sup>5</sup> Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup> delete τυφλός, Boissevain considers it corrupt.

συμφορῶν ἐπελάθοντο διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν προσδοκωμένων δεινῶν· αἰὲ γὰρ ἡ καινότης τῶν κακῶν ἀμαυροῦν εἴωθε τὰς προγεγενημένας ἀτυχίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. (Const. Exc. 4, pp. 388-389.)

20. Ὅτι ἀποσταλεῖς παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἡγέλοχος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Μαρσύαν τὸν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως, αὐτὸν τε ἐξώγρησε καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἄρδην ἀνείλεν. ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μαρσίου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάντων προσδοκῶντων τιμωρίας αὐτὸν τεύξεσθαι τῆς μεγίστης, ἀπέλυσε αὐτὸν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. μετενόει γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ταῖς φιланθρωπίαις ἔσπευδε διορθώσασθαι τὴν τῶν ὄχλων πρὸς αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀποθηρίωσιν.

21. Ὅτι Εὐήμερος ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς,<sup>2</sup> Ὑρκάνιος ὢν τὸ γένος, ὡμότητι δὲ ὑπερβάλλων πάντας τοὺς μνημονευομένους τυράννους, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁποῖον τιμωρίας γένος ἀπέλιπε. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τυχούσαις αἰτίαις πανοικίους ἐξανδραποδισάμενος εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας λαφυροπωλῆσαι. καὶ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τινα τῶν ἱερῶν ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως διέφθειρεν.

22. Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ζαβινᾶς ἐπικληθεὶς, ἀξιολόγων ἡγεμόνων ἀποστάντων Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ

forgot their former troubles in view of the enormity of the horrors now anticipated, for men's new troubles regularly tend to cast prior misfortunes into the shade.

20. Hegelochus, sent by the elder Ptolemy<sup>1</sup> in 127/6 B.C. command of an army against Marsyas, the general of the Alexandrians, captured him alive and wiped out his army. When Marsyas was brought before the king, and everyone anticipated that he would receive the most severe punishment, Ptolemy let the charges against him drop. For he was now beginning to suffer a change of heart, and by acts of kindness sought to remedy the hatred that the populace bore him.

21. Euhemerus,<sup>2</sup> the king of the Parthians, was an Hyrcanian by race and surpassed in cruelty all tyrants of whom we have record, so that there is no manner of punishment whatsoever that he did not employ. On the most casual pretexts he enslaved many of the Babylonians, together with all their families, and sent them to Media with orders that they should be sold as booty. He set fire to the agora of Babylon and to some of the temples, and destroyed the best part of the city.

22. When Antipater, Clonius, and Aeropus, leaders<sup>128 B.C.</sup> of note, revolted and seized Laodiceia, Alexander<sup>or after.</sup>

of the fragment in the Constantinian collection, and since the offending phrase occurs in the introductory clause it seems preferable to ascribe the blunder to the carelessness of the excerptor. See F. R. Walton, *A.J.P.* 77 (1956), 409-412.

<sup>2</sup> Poseidonius (Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 87, fr. 13) calls him the "tyrant" of Babylonia and Seleucia, and Justin (42. 1. 3) says that Phraates appointed him governor before setting off on his last campaign. Both authors give the name in the form Himerus. He seems to have "reigned" for at least several years.

<sup>1</sup> So Büttner-Wobst: αὐτὸν P.

<sup>2</sup> βασιλεὺς] βασιλέως σατράπης Valesius.

<sup>1</sup> Otto-Bengtson, *Abh. München*, N.F. 17 (1938), 100, 169-170, argue that the designation ὁ πρεσβύτερος was never applied to Euergetes, and accordingly refer the present passage to Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter II and date it to 110 or 108 B.C. But this date seems impossible to reconcile with the position

Κλονίου καὶ Ἀερόπου, τούτους καταλαβομένους  
Λαοδίκειαν ἐξεπολιόρκησεν. καὶ χρησάμενος μεγα-  
λοψύχως αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων· ἦν γὰρ  
πρῶτος καὶ συγγνωμονικός, ἔτι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις  
καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐντεύξεσι προσηνής. ὦν χάριν διαφε-  
ρόντως ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἠγαπάτο.

23. "Οτι Σεξτίου<sup>1</sup> τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν πόλιν ἐλόν-  
τος καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ λαφυροπωλοῦντος, Κράτων  
τις ὄνομα γεγονὼς φιλορώμαιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
πολλὰς ὕβρεις καὶ βασάνους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστάντων  
πολιτῶν ὑπομεμενηκὼς ἤγετο δέσμιος μετὰ τῶν  
ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων. ἰδὼν δὲ χρηματίζοντα τὸν  
ὑπατον, καὶ δηλώσας ὅστις ἦν καὶ ὅτι πολλοὺς καὶ  
πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑποστὰς κινδύνους,  
ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων πολιτευόμενος, οὐ μόνον  
αὐτὸς μεθ' ὅλης τῆς συγγενείας ἀπολυθεὶς ἀπέλαβε  
τὴν κτῆσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους  
εὐνοίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβεν ἐννακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν  
ἐκ τῆς δουλείας ἐξελέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ ὑπατος μεγα-  
λοψυχότερον τῆς ἰδίας ἐλπίδος αὐτῷ προσηνέχθη,  
πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθεὶς τοῖς Γαλάταις τὴν εἰς ἐκάτε-  
ρον μέρος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλάνθρω-  
πίας καὶ τιμωρίας. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp. 308-309.)

24. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐ μόνον λαβόντι τὴν ἀρχήν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταπορευομένῳ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μετιέναι  
παρηκολούθει, καὶ καταπλέοντι ἐκ τῆς Σαρδόνος

(nicknamed Zabinas)<sup>1</sup> successfully attacked the city.  
But behaving with magnanimity, he gave them a  
free pardon, for he was kindly and of a forgiving  
nature, and moreover was gentle in speech and in  
manners, wherefore he was deeply beloved by the  
common people.

23. When Sextius,<sup>2</sup> after capturing the city of the 124 B.C.  
Gauls, was selling its inhabitants as booty, a certain  
Crato, who had been a partisan of the Roman cause  
and for that reason had endured many outrages and  
tortures at the hands of the rebels, his fellow citizens,  
was being conducted in chains together with the rest  
of the captives. When he espied the consul at his  
duties, and disclosed who he was and that, as a  
supporter of Roman policy, he had gone through  
many and oft repeated perils at the hands of his  
fellow citizens, not only was he, together with all his  
kindred, released and their property restored, but  
because of his loyalty to Rome he was granted per-  
mission to exempt nine hundred of his fellows from  
slavery. Indeed, the consul treated him more gener-  
ously even than he had anticipated, since he wished  
to give the Gauls a clear demonstration of Roman  
thoroughness, whether in dispensing mercy or in  
exactng reprisals.

24. The populace thronged about him<sup>3</sup> not only 123 B.C.  
when he took office, but also when he was a candi-  
date, and even before; and on his return home

123/2 B.C. The nickname Zabinas is Aramaic for "the  
Bought One."

<sup>2</sup> C. Sextius Calvinus, consul in 124 B.C. He returned  
home in 122 B.C. to celebrate a triumph over the Gauls. He  
was the founder of Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence).

<sup>3</sup> C. Sempronius Gracchus, *tribunus plebis* in 123 B.C.  
The preceding year he had served as *proquaestor* in Sardinia.

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: Σέξτου P.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander II, a pretended son of the earlier usurper,  
Alexander Balas. Originally a protégé of Ptolemy Physcon,  
Alexander was widely accepted and by 128 B.C. was estab-  
lished as a rival king to Demetrius II. His reign lasted till



συνήντα, καὶ ἐκβάντα<sup>1</sup> μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ κρότων ἐδέχετο. τοσαύτη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν εὐνοίας ὀχλικῆς ὑπερβολή.<sup>2</sup>

25. Ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος δημηγορήσας περὶ<sup>3</sup> τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἀριστοκρατίαν,<sup>4</sup> δημοκρατίαν δὲ συστήσαι, καὶ ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀπάντων εὐχρηστίας τῶν μερῶν, οὐκέτι συναγωνιστὰς ἀλλὰ καθάπερ αὐθέντας εἶχε τοὺτους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας τόλμης. δεδεκασμένος γὰρ ἕκαστος ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐλπίσιν ὥς ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν τῶν εἰσφερομένων νόμων ἔτοιμος ἦν πάντα κίνδυνον ὑπομένειν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ συγκλητικῶν τὸ δικάζειν ἀφελόμενος καὶ ἀποδείξας τοὺς ἱππεῖς κριτὰς, τὸ χεῖρον τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ κρείττονος κύριον<sup>5</sup> ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἱππεῖς σύμπνοιαν διαστήσας βαρὺν τὸν ὄχλον κατ' ἀμφοτέρων κατεσκεύασε, διὰ δὲ τῆς πάντων διχοστασίας ἑαυτῷ δυναστείαν κατασκευάζων καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ταμειῖον εἰς αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἀκαίρους δαπάνας καὶ χάριτας ἀναλίσκων εἰς ἑαυτὸν πάντας ἀποβλέπειν ἐποίησε, καὶ τῇ μὲν τῶν δημοσιωνῶν<sup>6</sup> τόλμῃ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ὑπορρήσας<sup>7</sup> ἐπεσπασατο παρὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων δίκαιον μῖσος κατὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις διὰ τῶν νόμων τὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγωγῆς αὐστηρὰ καταχαρισάμενος<sup>8</sup> ἀπειθείαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν· τῶν γὰρ ἀρχόντων καταφρονή-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐκβάντα Dindorf: ἐκβάντ V, ἐκβάντα Mai.

<sup>2</sup> εὐνοίας . . . ὑπερβολή Mai: εὐνοία . . . ὑπερβολῆς V.

<sup>3</sup> περὶ added by Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> So Mai: ἀριστοκράτην V.

<sup>5</sup> So Mai: χεῖρον V.

<sup>6</sup> So Herwerden: δημοσιῶν V.

from Sardinia they met him, and, as he disembarked, greeted him with acclamations and applause: such was his extreme popularity with the common people.

25. Gracchus, having delivered public harangues on the subject of abolishing aristocratic rule and establishing democracy, and having won credit with all classes,<sup>1</sup> had in these men no longer mere supporters but rather sponsors of his own daring plans. Each man, in fact, bribed by hope of private gains, was ready to face any risk on behalf of the proposed laws, quite as though they were a personal interest. By taking away from the senators the right to serve in the courts and designating the knights as jurors, he made the inferior element in the state supreme over their betters; by disrupting the existing harmony of senate and knights, he rendered the common people hostile towards both; then, by using this general dissension as a steppingstone to personal power, and by exhausting the public treasury on base and unsuitable expenditures and favours, he made everyone look only to him as leader; by sacrificing the provinces to the reckless rapacity of the tax farmers he provoked the subject peoples to well-merited hatred of their rulers; and by relaxing through legislation the severity of the old discipline, as a means of currying favour with the soldiers, he introduced disobedience and anarchy into the state: for a man who despises those in authority over him

<sup>1</sup> As it stands the statement is too sweeping, but the original context may have made it clear that "all classes" did not include the Senate. The emphatic "these men" (τούτους) also suggests a more limited group of supporters.

<sup>7</sup> So Herwerden: ὑπορρήσας V.

<sup>8</sup> So Dindorf: καταχωρησάμενος V.

σας<sup>1</sup> κατεξανίσταται καὶ τῶν νόμων,<sup>2</sup> ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν ὀλέθριος ἀνομία καὶ πόλεως ἀνατροπὴ γίνεται.

2 \*Ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προέβη δυναστείας καὶ ὕβρεως, ὥστε τῶν ὀχλῶν κρινάντων ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν Ὀκταύμιον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφήκεν αὐτόν, εἰπὼν τῷ δήμῳ διότι ταύτην χάριν δίδωσι τῇ μητρὶ προεντετευγμένος ὑπ' αὐτῆς.

26. \*Ὅτι ὁ Πόπλιος<sup>3</sup> μετὰ δακρύων ὑπὸ τῶν ὀχλῶν προεπέμφθη ἐκβαλλόμενος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οὐ γὰρ ἡγνόει τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ἀδικον, ἀλλὰ τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ δωροδοκίᾳ<sup>4</sup> δεκαζόμενον ἀπεστέρητο τῆς μισοπονηροῦσης παρρησίας.

27. \*Ὅτι ἐπτακαίδεκα φυλαὶ τὸν νόμον ἀπεδοκίμαζον, ἄλλαι δὲ ταύταις ἴσαι παρεδέχοντο· τῆς δὲ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης διαριθμουμένης μία ψήφος ὑπερῆρε τῶν κυρούντων τὸν νόμον. τῆς δὲ τοῦ δήμου κρίσεως εἰς οὕτω μικρὰν ῥοπὴν συγκλειομένης, ὁ Γράκχος ἡγωνία ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζῆν κινδυνεύων, τῇ δὲ προσθήκῃ<sup>5</sup> μιᾶς γνώμης μαθὼν ἑαυτὸν νικῶντα μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεφθέγγετο, τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἐπικείται<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Boissvain suggests καταφρόνησις.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῶν νόμων Dindorf: καινοτομῶν V.

<sup>3</sup> Ποπίλιος Mai.

<sup>4</sup> τῇ . . . δωροδοκίᾳ Dindorf: τὴν . . . δωροδοκίαν V.

<sup>5</sup> So Mai: προσθήκης V.

<sup>6</sup> So Dindorf: ὑπόκειται V, πρόκειται van der Mey.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph presents a partial summary of the Gracchan reform programme. The strong bias of Diodorus against Gaius Gracchus is evident here and in the rest of his account.

<sup>2</sup> Gaius had sponsored a bill (aimed at Octavius, the old enemy of his brother) debarring a deposed magistrate from

rebels also against the laws, and from these practices come fatal lawlessness and the overthrow of the state.<sup>1</sup>

Gracchus reached such heights of power and arrogance that when the *plebs* voted to exile Octavius<sup>2</sup> from the city he set him free, stating to the people that he did this as a favour to his own mother, who had interceded for the man.

26. Publius<sup>3</sup> was escorted by weeping throngs as he departed from the city into exile. Indeed, the populace was not unaware that his banishment was unjust, but corrupted by bribery directed against him, it had deprived itself of the freedom to denounce evil.

27. Seventeen tribes voted against the law,<sup>4</sup> and an equal number of others approved it. When the eighteenth was tallied, there was a plurality of one for those supporting the measure. While the decision of the people was narrowing down to so close a finish Gracchus was as overwrought as if he were fighting for very life, but when he realized that he had won by the addition of a single vote he cried out: "Now the sword hangs over the head of my enemies!

other offices: see above, chap. 7, and Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 4. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> P. Popillius Laenas, consul in 132 B.C., who had been in charge of the senatorial court set up to punish the followers of Tiberius Gracchus.

<sup>4</sup> Mai, followed by Dindorf, took this passage as referring to the contest between Tiberius Gracchus and Octavius (Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 12, and Appian, *B.C.* 1. 12), despite its position here. But granted the similarity of the situation, the whole *ethos* of the story is completely different. More plausibly it is a doublet of the earlier story, invented to contrast the characters of Gaius and Tiberius. Carcopino, in Glotz, *Histoire générale* (*Hist. rom.* 2. 249-250), refers the episode to the passage of the *Lex de Provocatione*.

τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἂν ἡ τύχη βραβεύσῃ<sup>1</sup> στέρξομεν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 389-390.)

28. "Ὅτι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ πιστεύων τοῖς ὄχλοις διὰ τε τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνων καὶ τὴν<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς ὀξύτητα παρατάξασθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε, διανοεῖτο δὲ συσκευάσασθαι τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀναθήματα συλῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ τούτων νυκτὸς ἀπᾶραι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. συλᾶν δὲ ἐπιβαλόμενος διὰ τινων βαρβάρων τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερόν, καὶ φωραθεῖς, ἐκινδύνευσεν μὲν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ χειρὸς τυχεῖν τῆς ἀρμοστούσης τιμωρίας, φθὰς δὲ καὶ διαδράς μετ' ὀλίγων ἐπεβάλετο φεύγειν εἰς Σελευκείαν. τῆς δὲ φήμης αὐτὸν καταταχούσης, οἱ Σελευκεῖς ἀκούσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν ἀπέκλεισαν αὐτὸν τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεσὼν καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ὥρμησε φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸ Ποσιδεῖον,<sup>3</sup> ἀντεχόμενος τῶν παραθαλαττίων τόπων. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 309.)

2 "Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τὸ ἱεροσυλῆσαι ἔφευγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ποσιδεῖον.<sup>4</sup> εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀόρατον ἐκ ποδῶν διώκον, καὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρία συνεργὸν γινόμενον συνέκλειεν εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἀρμοστούσης δίκης· συλληφθεῖς γὰρ ἀνήχθη πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν δυσὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῆς ἱεροσυλίας. οὕτως ἀνέκφευκτος ἡ τιμωρὸς δίκη μετέρχεται τὴν τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλμαν· ἐργηγορυῖαι γὰρ διώκουσι τοὺς ἀνοσίους ποινὰὶ σύντομον τὴν τιμωρίαν φέρουσαι. ἄρτι γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: βραβεύσαι V.

<sup>2</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: τῆς P.

<sup>3</sup> So Wesseling: Ποσιδεῖον PV.

As for all else, whatever the decision of Fortune, we shall be content."

28. Alexander,<sup>1</sup> having no confidence in the masses because of their inexperience of the hazards of war and their readiness for any change, did not venture to join battle, but resolved to get together the royal treasures and steal the offerings dedicated to the gods, and with these to sail away by night to Greece. He made an attempt to plunder the temple of Zeus,<sup>2</sup> employing for the purpose certain barbarians, but was detected, and together with his troops all but met with condign punishment on the spot. Having managed, however, to slip away with a few men, he attempted to make his escape to Seleuceia. The news, however, outran him, and when the Seleuceians heard about the temple robbery, they barred his entry into the city. Having failed in this attempt too, he rushed to seek refuge at Posideium, clinging to the sea-coast in his flight.

Alexander, after his temple robbery, tried to escape to Posideium. But all unseen, we may assume, a Divine Power was following at his heels in close pursuit, and, co-operating to effect his punishment, forced him closer and ever closer to his proper doom. He was, in fact, apprehended and taken before Antiochus at his camp only two days after the temple robbery. In such wise does avenging justice inescapably pursue the rash deeds of impious men. Aye, vigilant Avengers track down the sinner, and the punishment that they bring is swift. But yesterday

<sup>1</sup> Alexander II Zabinas.

<sup>2</sup> According to Justin (39. 2. 5-6) this incident took place in Antioch, whither Zabinas had retreated after his defeat by Antiochus VIII Philometor (Grypus), the younger son of Demetrius II.



βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ τεσσάρων μυριάδων στρατοπεδευσῶν ἀφηγεῖτο, καὶ νῦν<sup>1</sup> δεδεμένος ἐπανήγετο πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ τιμωρίαν πολεμίων.

3 "Ὅτι ἀγομένον δεδεμένου διὰ τῆς παρεμβολῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Συρίας, τοῦτο ἄπιστον ἐδόκει οὐ μόνον<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὁρώσιν· τὴν γὰρ ἐνάργειαν<sup>3</sup> τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὸ μηδέποτε<sup>4</sup> ἂν<sup>5</sup> γενέσθαι προσδοκῆθαι εἰς τοῦναντίον ῥέπειν ἐβιάζετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τῆς ὁράσεως ἐβεβαιοῦτο τὰληθές, ἅπαντες θαυμάζοντες ἀνέλυον ἀπὸ τῆς θέας, οἱ μὲν ἀθρώοις καὶ συμπαθέσι φωναῖς ἐπισημαινόμενοι τὴν τοῦ δαιμονίου δύναμιν, οἱ δὲ ποικίλως ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄστατον, τὸ παλίντροπον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς παλirroίας, ὡς εὐμετάβολος ὁ βίος, οἷον τις<sup>6</sup> οὐκ ἂν προσεδόκησεν. (Const. Exc. 4, pp. 390-391.)

28a. "Ὅτι πολλοὺς ἔχων τοὺς συναγωνιστὰς ἀντετάττετο ὁ Γράκχος,<sup>7</sup> καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ταπεινούμενος καὶ παρὰ προσδοκίαν ἀποπίπτων εἰς λύτταν τινὰ καὶ μανιώδη διάθεσιν ἐνέπιπτε. συναγαγὼν γὰρ τοὺς συνωμότας εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Φλάκκου συνεδρεύσας ἔκρινε τοὺς ὅπλοις δεῖν κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ προσφέρειν. διὸ παρεκελεύσατο πᾶσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς τηβένναις<sup>8</sup> φέρειν ξίφη καὶ συνακολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ νῦν Herwerden : καὶ V, νῦν Mai.

<sup>2</sup> μόνον added by Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> So Post : ἐνέργειαν V.

<sup>4</sup> μηδέποτε<sup>5</sup> ἂν Dindorf : μηδέποτε V.

<sup>5</sup> οἷον τις Wurm : τις V. Dindorf deletes οὐκ, Boissvain suggests a lacuna after παλirroίας.

<sup>6</sup> So Feder, Müller : βράκχος S.

he had been a king, and the leader of forty thousand men under arms. Now he was being led in chains to face insults and punishment at the hands of his foes.

When Alexander, the king of Syria, was being led in chains through the camp, it appeared incredible, not only to those who heard of it, but even to eyewitnesses, for the expectation that it could never happen strove to tip the balance against the plain evidence of the senses. But when the truth was confirmed by actual sight, one and all marvelled as they turned from the scene, some applauding with frequent expressions of approval the manifestation of divine power, others commenting variously on the instability of fortune, the changeableness of human affairs, the sudden turns of the tide, and the mutability of human life, so far beyond all that a man would expect.

28a. Gracchus, whose partisans were numerous, 121 B.C. continued to resist; but as he was constantly and increasingly being humiliated, and had unexpected disappointments, he began to fall into a kind of frenzy and state of madness. Assembling the conspirators at his own house he decided, after consultation with Flaccus,<sup>1</sup> that they must overcome their opponents by force of arms and make an attack on the consuls and the senate. Accordingly he urged them all to wear swords beneath their togas, and as they accompanied him to pay close attention to his

<sup>1</sup> M. Fulvius Flaccus. Consul in 125 B.C., he became a tribune in 122 and was Gracchus' chief supporter. In 121 he was perhaps a member with Gracchus of the commission concerned with the colony at Carthage.

<sup>7</sup> So Feder, Müller : τηβένναις S.

νοῦν προσέχειν τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις. Ὅπιμιόν δὲ βουλευομένου εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὥρμησεν ἐκείσε μετὰ τῶν καχεκτῶν· εὐρών δὲ τὸν νεώ<sup>1</sup> προκατειλημμένον καὶ πλῆθος τῶν ἀρίστων ἡθροισμένον ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ὀπίσω τοῦ νεῶ στοὰν ἀδημονῶν καὶ ποινηλατούμενος. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ παροιστηκότος, Κόιντός τις συνήθειαν ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν προσέπεσε τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ δεόμενος μηδὲν βίαιον ἢ ἀνήκεστον πράξαι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ τυραννικῶς ἤδη διεξάγων αὐτὸν μὲν προέωσε πρηνῇ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τοῖς δὲ ἀκολουθοῦσι προσέταξε διαχειρίσασθαι καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τιμωρίας. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος καταπλαγεὶς τὸν τε φόνον ἐδήλωσε τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπίθεσιν. (Ζήτει ἐν τῷ Περὶ Συμβολῆς Πολέμων.)

(*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 207.)

29. Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Γράκχον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου δούλου, τῶν γεγονότων αὐτοῦ φίλων Λεύκιος Οὐντέλλιος πρῶτος ἐπιστὰς τῷ πτώματι αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὅπως ἡχθέσθη τῇ συμφορᾷ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, ἀλλὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφελὼν καὶ κομίσας πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς οἶκον ἰδίαν τινὰ πλεονεξίας ἐπίνοιαν καὶ ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν ἐπεδείξατο. ὁ γὰρ ὕπατος ἦν ἐπικεκρυχὼς τῷ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀπενέγκαντι δώσειν ἰσόσταθμον χρυσίον· ὁ δὲ τὸν τράχηλον διατρήσας καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκκενώσας ἐνέτηξεν ἀντὶ τούτου μόλυβδον· ἀναδοὺς δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκομίσαστο μὲν

<sup>1</sup> νεῶν Dindorf.

orders. Since Opimius<sup>1</sup> was at the Capitol debating what should be done, Gracchus and his malcontents started for that place, but finding the temple already occupied and a large number of nobles collected, he withdrew to the portico behind the temple, a prey to agony of spirit and fiendish torments. While he was still in this frenzied state, a certain Quintus,<sup>2</sup> a man on terms of familiarity with him, fell at his knees and besought him to take no violent or irreparable steps against the fatherland. Gracchus, however, acting now openly as a tyrant, knocked him headlong to the ground and ordered his companions to dispatch him, and to make this the beginning of reprisals against their opponents. The consul, aghast, announced to the senate the murder and the coming attack upon themselves.<sup>3</sup>

29. After the death of Gracchus at the hands of his own slave, Lucius Vitellius, who had been one of his friends and was the first to come upon his body, not only did not grieve at what had befallen his dead friend, but having removed his head and carried it home, displayed a special ingenuity in exorbitant greed and a callousness that knew no bounds. The consul had made proclamation that he would give for the head its weight in gold to the man who brought it in. Lucius, therefore, bored through the neck, and having removed the brain, poured in molten lead. He then produced the head and re-

<sup>1</sup> L. Opimius, consul in 121 B.C., elected as an opponent of the Gracchan programme.

<sup>2</sup> Quintus Antyll(i)us. For the incident cp. Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 13, and Appian, *B.C.* 1. 25, who both present the story in a light more favourable to Gracchus.

<sup>3</sup> The text refers for the sequel to the collector "On the Outbreak of Hostilities," which is not extant.

τὸ χρυσίον, κατεγνώσθη δὲ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φιλίας. ὁμοίως δὲ οἱ Φλάκκοι διεχειρίσθησαν. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp. 309-310.)

30. Ὅτι ὁ Φλάκκος ἐπὶ <sup>20</sup>. χάριν γενεᾶν δηλοῦν καὶ <sup>4-5</sup>. ρον ἐπειδὴν τὸν <sup>10</sup>. διαδρομῆ. <sup>17</sup>. προγραφῆς <sup>21</sup>. τὴν προσδοκίαν <sup>28</sup>. εὐομένοις ἢ παρανομία α(ῦ)τῇ πρὸς <sup>4-5</sup>.

30a. Ὅτι οἱ Κορδίσκοι κομίσαντες λάφυρα πλείστα πολλοὺς προήγαγον καὶ ἄλλους<sup>1</sup> γενέσθαι τῆς ὁμοίας προαιρέσεως καὶ νομίζειν τὸ τὰ ἀλλότρια συλᾶν<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν <sup>3</sup>. τῶν ἀνδραγαθοῦντων εἶναι βεβαιώσαντες γὰρ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον οἱ ἰσχυρότεροι<sup>3</sup> τὰς τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων κτήσεις διαρπάτουνσι.<sup>4</sup>

30b. Ὅτι οἱ Σκορδίσκοι ὕστερον ἀναστελλόμενοι πορεῖαν<sup>5</sup> ἀπεφάναντο καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπικρατεῖν οὐ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἄλλων<sup>6</sup> ἀσθένειαν.

30c. Ὅτι ἡ φρόνησις δοκοῦσα πάντων κυριεύειν ὑπὸ μόνῃς τῆς τύχης ἡττάται· καὶ γὰρ αὗτὰ διὰ σπνέσειν καὶ ἀγχνόειαν <sup>21</sup>.<sup>8</sup> πολλάκις ἡ ταύτης

<sup>1</sup> λάφυρα . . . ἄλλους] so Post: λαφυρ. εἰστας πολλ. . . προ. . . ρε. . . ους V; λαφύρων πλήθη πολλά προήγαγον τοὺς ἄλλους Boissevain.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ . . . συλᾶν] so Boissevain: τὰρ δη. . . αν V.

<sup>3</sup> νόμον . . . ἰσχυρότεροι] so Boissevain: νοεῖαν τοῖς ἰσχυροτεροῖς V. <sup>4</sup> So Boissevain: διαρπαζόντα; V.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Πόρκιον?

<sup>6</sup> So Walton: αὐτῶν V. Cp. below, chap. 33. 4.

<sup>7</sup> καὶ γὰρ αὖ] The reading is uncertain.

<sup>8</sup> Boissevain suggests, from faint traces, . . . προενόησέ τις.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (*C. Gracch.* 17) gives the story told here but identifies the perpetrator of the fraud as a certain Septimuleius, a friend of Opimius.

ceived the gold, but was despised for the rest of his life for this betrayal of friendship.<sup>1</sup> Like Gracchus, the Flacci also were killed.

30. Flaccus<sup>2</sup> . . . to reveal his identity (ῖ) for the sake of . . . running about . . . proscription (or confiscation) . . . expectation . . . this lawlessness. . .

30a. The Cordisci,<sup>3</sup> having taken great quantities of booty, induced many others to adopt the same policy, and to consider the pillaging of others' property and the harrying of . . . the mark of manly behaviour: for it is but a confirmation of the law of nature when the strong ravage the property of the weak. 119/105 B.C.

30b. Later the Scordisci, by refusing passage,<sup>4</sup> demonstrated that even Rome's superiority rested not on her own strength but on the weakness of others.

30c. Understanding, which is thought to be master of all things, is weaker than one thing only, Fortune. Many a time her spitefulness unexpectedly ruins what a man (has mapped out) with intelligence and

<sup>2</sup> Beginning at this point a page of the Vatican palimpsest (V) is nearly illegible, and the page following is totally obliterated. Both text and translation of chapters 30, 30a, 30b, 30c, 32, and 32a are therefore quite conjectural. For the death of Flaccus, with which chap. 30 was evidently concerned, see Appian, *B.C.* 1. 26; for that of his son see, e.g., Velleius Paterculus, 2. 7. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The name is so spelled both here and in the marginal lemma, but appears in the next fragment in the more usual form. The Scordisci were a Celtic tribe of the upper Balkans, with whom the Romans were periodically at war from 119 B.C., when Sex. Pompeius was killed in battle with them, to 105 B.C., the last possible date for this passage.

<sup>4</sup> A possible emendation (see critical note) would refer this fragment to the defeat of C. Porcius Cato, the consul of 114 B.C. (cp. Livy, *Per.* 63, Dio Cassius, 26. 88).



ἐπήρεια παραδόξως ἐλυμήνατο. καὶ ἔστιν<sup>1</sup> ὅτε τὰ δι' ἀφροσύνην ἀπορρηθέντα<sup>2</sup> . . . παρὰ τὰς ἀπάντων ἐλπίδας διωρθώσατο· ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν εὐμενοῦς<sup>3</sup> αὐτῆς λαβόμενος ἀδιαλείπτως<sup>4</sup> σκέδον ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἂν,<sup>5</sup> οἱ δὲ ἄλλοτρίαν<sup>6</sup> ἔχοντες<sup>7</sup> ἐκάστοτε<sup>8</sup> πταίουσιν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μέρος πράξεσιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν<sup>9</sup> ἔστιν ἰδεῖν<sup>10</sup> . . . (2 lines).

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 391-392, and Appendix I.)

31. "Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην παραταξαμένων ἀλλήλοισι τῶν βασιλέων, Ἰογόρθας κρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς ἀνείλε τῶν Νομάδων· ὁ δὲ Ἀτάρβας ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καταφυγὼν εἰς Κίρταν, καὶ συγκλεισθεῖς εἰς πολιορκίαν, ἐξαπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς Ῥώμην μὴ περιδεῖν βασιλέα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον κινδυνεύοντα. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις λύειν<sup>11</sup> τὴν πολιορκίαν. οὐ προσέχοντος δὲ Ἰογόρθα, πάλιν ἑτέροισι ἔπεμψαν ἀξίωμα μείζον ἔχοντας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τούτων ἀπράκτων ἐπανελθόντων, ὁ Ἰογόρθας περιταφρεύσας τὴν πόλιν ἐνδεία κατεπόνησε τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει· τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἐξελθόντα μεθ' ἱκετηρίας καὶ τῆς μὲν βασιλείας ἐξιστάμενον, τὸ δὲ ζῆν αἰτούμενον ἀπέσφαξεν, οὐκ ἐντραπέις οὔτε συγγένειαν οὔτε τὸν τῆς ἱκεσίας νόμον.

<sup>1</sup> παραδόξως . . . ἔστιν] so Boissvain: παραδό . . . ὡς μιαν-  
τοσ . . . . οὐδεν V.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποβληθέντα Post.

<sup>3</sup> So Post: εὐμετ . . . V.

<sup>4</sup> So Post: διαγει . . . ὡς ὅτ ἀγλειπτως V.

<sup>5</sup> ἀνὰ . . . ἂν] so Walton: ἀν πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλασ ἐπιτυγχαν . . . σιν V, ἀπασῶν ἐπιβολῶν ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν Boissvain (reading λαβόμενοι, above).

<sup>6</sup> So Post: ἄλλοτ . . . . p V.

<sup>7</sup> So Boissvain: ἐχων τε V.

shrewdness . . . , and again, at times, contrary to all expectations she sets to right affairs which in our folly we have despaired of. As a result, one who finds her unfailingly propitious may succeed in almost all undertakings, while those to whom she is adverse fail in their individual actions, and some may be seen. . . .

31. In Libya when the kings<sup>1</sup> met in combat, 112 B.C. Jugurtha was victorious in battle and slew many of the Numidians. His brother Adherbal took refuge in Cirta, where, being beleaguered in a close siege, he sent envoys to Rome, begging the Romans not to ignore the jeopardy of a friendly and allied king. The senate dispatched legates to break the siege. When Jugurtha paid no heed, they sent a second legation<sup>2</sup> of greater weight. After they too had returned empty-handed, Jugurtha surrounded the city with a trench and through privation wore down its inhabitants. His brother came out holding a suppliant's bough, and though he abdicated the kingship and begged only for life, Jugurtha slew him, without regard either to kinship or to the rights

<sup>1</sup> On the death of King Micipsa in 118 B.C. the kingdom of Numidia had been divided between his two young sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and their older cousin Jugurtha, whom Micipsa had recently adopted. Hiempsal was shortly assassinated by henchmen of Jugurtha, leaving the two survivors as rival kings. How long Adherbal was besieged in Cirta is uncertain, but events reached their climax in 112 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> This second legation was headed by M. Aemilius Scaurus: cp. Sallust, *Iug.* 25. 4-11.

<sup>8</sup> So Post: ἐκαστα . . . V.

<sup>9</sup> So Boissvain: μόνον ὅτ μόνον V.

<sup>10</sup> So Boissvain: ἀδιν V.

<sup>11</sup> So Dindorf: λύσειν P.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν τοὺς συμμαχήσαντας  
τάδελεφῶ πάντας αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 310.)

32. Ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Νομάδων Ἰογόρθας  
θαυμάσας τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰς  
ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν ἐπαινέσας ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις φίλοις ἀπεφή-  
νατο διότι τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσι<sup>1</sup> δι' ἀπάσης τῆς  
Λιβύης διεξ . . . (about 2 lines).

32a. Ὅτι προσπεσούσης τῆς ἀγγελίας περὶ τῆς  
τοῦ ἸΟΥΒΙΟΥ<sup>2</sup> τελευτῆς καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ  
. <sup>24</sup> . πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ πένθος ἐπῆει<sup>3</sup> τὴν πόλιν·  
πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ παῖδες ὀρφανοὶ . <sup>8</sup> ., οὐκ ὀλίγοι  
δὲ ἀδελ | (the following page of the codex is com-  
pletely obliterated).

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 392, and Appendix I.)

33. Ὅτι Νασικᾶς ὁ ὕπατος ὑπῆρχεν ἀνὴρ καὶ  
κατ' ἀρετὴν<sup>4</sup> ἀξιόλογος καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν  
θαυμαζόμενος· ἐξ ἐκείνου γὰρ ἦν τοῦ γένους ἐξ οὗ  
τοὺς Ἀφρικανοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀσιαγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς  
Ἰσπανοὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ὃν ὁ μὲν τὴν  
Λιβύην, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἰσπανίαν κατα-  
στρεψάμενος ἔτυχε τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων φερω-  
νύμου προσσηγορίας. καὶ πρὸς δὲ τῇ κοινῇ τοῦ  
γένους δόξῃ πατέρα καὶ πάππον ἔσχεν ἐπιφανέ-  
στατους Ῥωμαίων· ἄμφω μὲν γὰρ προεκάθισαν<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἀνδράσι Boissevain: λοχιῖς . . . ἐπι . V.

<sup>2</sup> Κασίου Boissevain. The marginal lemma has Π ΤΕ-

ΔΕΥΤΗ ΚΙ.

<sup>3</sup> So Walton: ἐπιεῖ V, ἐπέσχε Boissevain.

of a suppliant. He likewise tortured and put to death  
all the Italians<sup>1</sup> who had fought on his brother's  
side.

32. Jugurtha, the king of the Numidians, marvel-  
ling at the manly courage of the Romans and praising  
their exploits, declared to his friends that with these  
men (?) he could traverse all Libya. . . .<sup>2</sup>

32a. When the news broke upon them of the death  
of . . . and of those who had perished with him . . .  
the city was filled with cries and lamentation. For  
many were the children left orphans, and not a few  
. . . brothers. . . .

33. The consul Nasica<sup>3</sup> was a man distinguished 111 B.C.  
in his own right and was, as well, esteemed for his  
noble lineage. He belonged, in fact, to that *gens*  
whose scions had acquired the names Africanus,  
Asiaticus, and Hispanus; for since one of their  
number subdued Libya, another Asia, and the third  
Spain, each won for himself a cognomen signifying  
his achievements. But in addition to the high  
repute of his ancestors generally, he had for father  
and grandfather two of the most prominent men in  
Rome. Both held the position of leader of the

<sup>1</sup> These were Italians resident in Cirta.

<sup>2</sup> The exact position and date of this and the following  
fragment cannot be ascertained.

<sup>3</sup> P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, who died during his  
consulship in 111 B.C. Beginning with his great-grandfather,  
the line of descent is as follows (omitting the first three  
names, identical for all): Nasica (I), consul in 191; Nasica  
Corculum (II), consul in 162 and 155; Nasica Serapio (III),  
consul in 138; Nasica Serapio (IV), the consul of 111 B.C.  
Diodorus (or the exceptor) has combined the histories of (I)  
and (II).

<sup>4</sup> κατ' ἀρετὴν Salmasius, Valesius: μετὰρετὴν P.

<sup>5</sup> So Dindorf: προεκάθισαν P.

τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον γνώμην μέχρι  
 τῆς τελευταίας, ὃ δὲ πάππος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ δόγμα  
 2 τῆς συγκλήτου τῶν πολιτῶν<sup>1</sup> ἄριστος ἐκρίθη. ἐν  
 μὲν γὰρ τοῖς τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοῖς εὐρέθη γε-  
 γραμμένον ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἰδρύσασθαι νεῶν  
 τῆς μεγάλης μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἱερῶν  
 τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος<sup>2</sup> τῆς Ἀσίας  
 ποιήσασθαι, τὴν δὲ ἐκδοχὴν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
 γενέσθαι πανδημεὶ τῆς ἀπαντήσεως γινομένης,<sup>3</sup>  
 καὶ τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων<sup>4</sup> καὶ γυναικῶν  
 ὁμοίως τὴν ἀγαθὴν . . . καὶ τούτους ἀφηγεῖσθαι  
 τῆς ἀπαντήσεως γενομένης<sup>5</sup> καὶ δέξασθαι τὰ ἱερὰ  
 τῆς θεᾶς. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου πάντα συντελοῦσης  
 3 κατὰ τὸν χρησμόν, ἐκρίθη τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἄριστος  
 Πόπλιος Νασικᾶς, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν Οὐαλερία. οὐ  
 μόνον γὰρ τῇ πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσεβείᾳ διαφέρειν ἔδοξεν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικὸς ὑπῆρξεν καὶ συνετὸς ἐν τῷ τὴν  
 γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀννιβιακὸν  
 πόλεμον Μάρκος μὲν Κάτων ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Δημο-  
 σθένης εἰώθει λέγειν<sup>6</sup> παρ' ἑκάστον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης Καρχηδὸνα  
 μὴ εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίει πολλάκις οὐχ ὑπο-  
 κειμένης περὶ τούτου βουλῆς, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων τινῶν  
 αἰεὶ ζητουμένων. ὃ δὲ Νασικᾶς αἰεὶ τούναντίον

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: πλείστον P.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος Valesius: ἐκ πεσείν οὕτως P.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: γενομένης P.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν ἄριστον Vulgate.

<sup>5</sup> Vulgate omits γενομένης.

<sup>6</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: λέγων P.

<sup>1</sup> Only the grandfather (II) held this honorary position, awarded each quinquennium by the censors. He was designated *princeps senatus* in 147 and 142 B.C. When a  
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senate<sup>1</sup> and of "first speaker," each to the time of his death, and in addition the grandfather<sup>2</sup> was by decree of the senate adjudged the "best" man in the state. For it was found written in the Sibylline oracles that the Romans should establish a temple for the Great Mother of the Gods, that her sacred objects should be fetched from Pessinus in Asia, and be received in Rome by a muster of the whole populace going forth to meet them, that of the noblest men and women alike . . . the good woman . . . and that they should lead the welcoming procession, when it took place, and receive the sacred objects of the goddess. When the senate proceeded to carry out the instructions of the oracle, Publius Nasica was selected as the best of all the men and Valeria as the best of the women. Not only was he considered outstanding in piety towards the gods, but he was a statesman as well, and a man who spoke his mind in public debate shrewdly. After the Hannibalic War, for example, Marcus Cato (dubbed Demosthenes) made it his practice to remark on every occasion, when stating his opinion in the senate, "Would that Carthage did not exist," and he kept repeating this even when no relevant motion was before the house and different matters were in turn being considered. Nasica,<sup>3</sup> however,

question had been referred to the senate, the presiding magistrate called upon the senators, in order of rank, to express their opinions.

<sup>2</sup> Actually, his great-grandfather (I), who at the time (204 B.C.) was a very young man. For the story see Livy, 29. 10-11 and 14. Valeria was probably the daughter of M. Valerius Laevinus, who headed the embassy sent to Pergamum to fetch the goddess.

<sup>3</sup> The opponent of Cato was not Nasica (I), but Nasica Corculum (II).



4 ἀπεφαίνετο Καρχηδόνα διὰ παντός<sup>1</sup> εἶναι. ἑκατέρα μὲν οὖν ἀπόφασιν ἔδοκει τῷ συνεδρίῳ μεγάλην ἔχειν ἀναθεώρησιν· τοῖς δὲ διαφέρουσι τῇ φρονήσει πολὺ προτερεῖν ἢ τοῦ Νασικᾶ διελαμβάνετο. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλων ἀσθενείας ἔκριναν δεῖν θεωρεῖσθαι τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης ἰσχύν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φαίνεσθαι τῶν  
5 μεγάλων μείζονα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σωζομένης μὲν τῆς Καρχηδόνας ὁ ἀπὸ ταύτης φόβος ἠνάγκαζεν ὁμοιοεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τῶν ὑποταγμένων ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἄρχειν· ὧν οὐδὲν κάλλιον ἔστιν πρὸς ἡγεμονίας διαμονήν τε καὶ αὔξησιν· ἀπολομένης δὲ τῆς ἀντιπάλου πόλεως πρόδηλος ἦν ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολίταις ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος ἐσόμενος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων μῖσος εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων πλεονεξίαν τε  
6 καὶ παρανομίαν. ἅπερ ἅπαντα συνέβη τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ τὴν<sup>2</sup> τῆς Καρχηδόνας κατασκαφήν· καὶ γὰρ ἐπικίνδυνον δημαγωγίαι καὶ χώρας ἀναδασμοὶ καὶ συμμάχων ἀποστάσεις μεγάλαι καὶ ἐμφύλιοι πόλεμοι πολυετεῖς καὶ φοβεροὶ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ προαγορευθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σικιπίωνος ἠκολούθησεν. ὁ τούτου δὲ υἱὸς πρεσβύτης ὦν<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἡλικίαν Τιβέριον Γράκχον τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντα ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν  
7 ἀπέκτεινε, προηγούμενος τῆς συγκλήτου. τῆς δὲ πληθῆος<sup>4</sup> ἀγανακτοῦσης καὶ τεθριωμένης πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> διὰ παντός] δεῖν πάντως Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν added by Valesius.

<sup>3</sup> So Herwerden (with the deletion of καὶ after ἡλικίαν, below): ἦν P.

<sup>4</sup> So Büttner-Wobst: συγκλήτου P, πόλεως Jacoby. Valesius reads τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀγανακτοῦντος καὶ τεθριωμένου.

<sup>1</sup> The belief that the decline of Rome was brought on by the removal of all external threats became a commonplace

always expressed the contrary wish, "May Carthage exist for all time." Now though each point of view seemed to the senate to merit consideration, that of Nasica was regarded by the more intelligent members as being far and away the better. Rome's strength should be judged, they thought, not by the weakness of others, but by showing herself greater than the great. Furthermore, so long as Carthage survived, the fear that she generated compelled the Romans to live together in harmony and to rule their subjects equitably and with credit to themselves—much the best means to maintain and extend an empire; but once the rival city was destroyed, it was only too evident that there would be civil war at home, and that hatred for the governing power would spring up among all the allies because of the rapacity and lawlessness to which the Roman magistrates would subject them.<sup>1</sup> All this did indeed happen to Rome after the destruction of Carthage, which brought in its wake the following: dangerous demagoguery, the redistribution of land, major revolts among the allies, prolonged and frightful civil wars, and all the other things predicted by Scipio. Now it was this man's son who, as an old man, and leader of the senate,<sup>2</sup> killed with his own hands Tiberius Gracchus, after the latter had attempted to gain absolute power. The masses were angry, and raged against the perpetrators of the

in late Republican and Imperial writing and is especially apparent in the work of Sallust.

<sup>2</sup> Nasica Serapio (III) was at the time (133 B.C.) *pontifex maximus*, but was never *princeps senatus*. Possibly Diodorus was confused by finding in his sources that Nasica "led the senate" in the outburst that resulted in the assassination (cp. Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 19. 3-4).

τοὺς τὸν φόνον δράσαντας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καθ' ἓνα τῶν συγκλητικῶν προαγαγόντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα καὶ ἐπερωτώντων τίς ἔστιν ὁ ἀνελών, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες κατεπτηχότες τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ὀρμὴν καὶ βίαν ἡρνοῦντο καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐξηλλάττοντο, ὁ δὲ Σικιπίων μόνος ὡμολόγησεν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ γεγονέναι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἐπειπὼν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὁ Γράκχος ἐλάνθανεν ἐπιτιθέμενος τυραννίδι, ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον οὐκ ἔλαθεν. ὁ δὲ ὄχλος, καίπερ ἀγανακτῶν, ἡσύχασεν ἐντραπείς 8 τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ τοῦτου νιός, κατὰ τὸν ὑποκείμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τελευτήσας, ἀδωροδόκητος μὲν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον διετέλεσεν, μετασχὼν δὲ τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τῷ βίῳ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς λόγοις μόνοις φιλοσοφήσας, ἀκόλουθον ἔσχε τῇ τοῦ γένους διαδοχῇ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κληρονομίαν.

34. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀρτίως παρελθὼς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξέπεσεν εἰς μέθας καὶ τρυφὴν ἀγεννῇ καὶ ζηλώματα βασιλείας ἀλλοτριώτατα. ἔχαιρε γὰρ μίμοις καὶ προδεϊκταῖς καὶ καθόλου πᾶσι τοῖς θαυματοποιοῖς, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐπιτηδεύματα μανθάνειν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ἐπετήδευσε δὲ καὶ νευροσπαστεῖν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κινεῖν ζῶα πενταπῆχεα<sup>1</sup> κατάργυρα καὶ κατάχρυσα καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα. οὐκ εἶχε δ' ἐλεπόλεω<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ

deed, while the tribunes even haled the senators, one by one, to the rostra and demanded to know who the actual murderer was. All the rest, fearing the impetuosity and violence of the crowd, denied any knowledge or gave devious and conflicting answers. Scipio alone admitted that the killing was done by him, adding that unbeknown to the rest of the city Gracchus had been aiming at tyranny, and that only he and the senate had not been deceived. The crowd, though disgruntled, subsided, awed by the dignity of the man and his frank statement. Now this man's son,<sup>1</sup> too, who died in the year in question, remained incorruptible throughout his entire career, and since he took part in public affairs and proved himself a true lover of wisdom, not in words alone but in his way of life, his legacy of virtue was indeed in keeping with his noble lineage.

34. Shortly after Antiochus Cyzicenus<sup>3</sup> gained the throne he lapsed into drunken habits, crass self-indulgence, and pursuits utterly inappropriate to a king. He delighted, for example, in mimes and pantomimic actors, and generally in all showmen, and devoted himself eagerly to learning their crafts. He practised also how to manipulate puppets, and personally to keep in motion silver-plated and gilded animals five cubits high, and many another such contrivance. On the other hand, he possessed no narrative, the death of the consul Scipio in 111 B.C. See above, p. 127, note 3.

<sup>1</sup> Antiochus IX Philopator (Cyzicenus) was a son of Antiochus VII Sidetes and a half-brother of Antiochus VIII Philometor (Grypus), his lifelong rival. Cyzicenus, after defeating Grypus, secured the throne in about 113 B.C., but Grypus returned in force a year or so later (probably the occasion for the present narrative), and thereafter the uneasy country was divided between them.

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske: πεντάπηχα P.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius (δ' for δὲ Büttner-Wobst): δὲ πόλεω P.

<sup>3</sup> After a long digression Diodorus here returns to his  
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ὀργάνων πολιορκητικῶν κατασκευάς, ἃ καὶ δόξαν μεγάλην καὶ χρείας ἀξιολόγους ἂν παρέσχετο. ἐνεθουσία δὲ καὶ πρὸς κυνηγεσίας ἀκαίρους, καὶ πολλάκις νύκτωρ λάθρα τῶν φίλων μετὰ δυνεῖν ἢ τριῶν οἰκετῶν ἐξιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκυνήγει λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ ὄς ἀγρίους. παραβόλως δὲ συμπλεκόμενος ἀλόγοις θηρίοις πολλάκις ἦλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους.

35. Ὅτι Μικίψας ὁ Μασσανάσσου υἱὸς τοῦ Νομάδων βασιλέως εἶχε καὶ ἄλλους υἱοὺς πλείους, μάλιστα δὲ προτετιμημένους Ἀτάρβαν τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων καὶ Ἰάμφαμον καὶ Μικίψαν. ὃς ἐπιεικέστατος τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην βασιλέων γενόμενος καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων Ἑλλήνων μεταπεμπόμενος συνεβίου τούτοις. πολλὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος παιδείας, μάλιστα δὲ φιλοσοφίας, ἐνεγέρωσε τῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 310-313.)

35a. Ὅτι ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ὑπάρχων Ἰογόρθας ἕτερος, ἀντιποιοῦμενος τῆς Νομαδικῆς βασιλείας. εὐδοκιμοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν, ὁ Ἰογόρθας μισθωσάμενός τινας σφαγεῖς τοῦτον μὲν ἐδολοφόνησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 207-208.)

36. Ὅτι Κοντωνιάτος τις ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Γαλατικῆς πόλεως τῆς οὕτω καλουμένης Ἰοντώρας

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Hiempsal. So far as is known, Micipsa had only the two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal. Since Micipsa died in

store of "city-takers" or other instruments of siegecraft that might have brought him high renown and performed some service worth recording. He was, moreover, addicted to hunting at odd and unseasonable hours, and many a time would slip away from his friends at night, and making his way to the country with two or three servants go in pursuit of lions, panthers, or wild boars. And since in grappling with brute beasts he was reckless, he frequently put his own life in extreme peril.

35. Micipsa, the son of the Numidian king Masinissa, had several other sons, but his favourites were Adherbal, the elder (*sic*) of his children, Iampsamus,<sup>1</sup> and Micipsa. Now Micipsa was the most civilized of all the Numidian kings, and lived much in the company of cultivated Greeks whom he had summoned to his court. He took a great interest in culture, especially philosophy, and waxed old both in the exercise of power and in the pursuit of wisdom.

35a. There came to Rome a member of the royal family, another Jugurtha,<sup>2</sup> who was a contender for the throne of Numidia. Since he was extremely popular, Jugurtha hired murderers to assassinate him, then returned without let or hindrance to his kingdom.

36. Contoniatius,<sup>3</sup> chieftain of the Gaulish city called Iontora, was a man of unusual sagacity and

118 B.C., it is difficult to see why this account of him was introduced here. Perhaps for this reason the excerptor invented the third son Micipsa, to whom he thought the following description must refer. Note that Adherbal is called the "elder," not "eldest."

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere his name is given as Massiva.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly identical with Congonnetiacus, son of Bituitus, the king of the Arverni, who was brought to Rome after his father had been defeated in 121 B.C. and imprisoned at Alba.



συνέσει καὶ στρατηγία διάφορος ἦν, φίλος δὲ καὶ<sup>1</sup> σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων, ὡς ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις διατετριφὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ κεκοινωνηκὼς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀγωγῆς νομίμου, διὰ Ῥωμαίων δὲ παρειληφὼς τὴν ἐν Γαλατία βασιλείαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 313.)

Chap. 37 : see below, after Chap. 39a.

38. Ὅτι ὁ Μάριος εἰς ὧν τῶν συμβούλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ<sup>2</sup> παρεθεωρεῖτο,<sup>3</sup> ταπεινότητος ὧν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τῇ δόξῃ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τοῖς ἀξιώμασι καὶ ταῖς εὐγενείαις ὑπερέχοντες μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγγανον ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, οὗτος δὲ δοκῶν γεγονέναι δημοσιώνης καὶ τὰς ὑποδεστέρας ἀρχὰς μόγις εἰληφὼς ἐν ταῖς εἰς δόξαν προαγωγαῖς παρεθεωρεῖτο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἕκαστος περιφεύγων πᾶσαν ἐν<sup>4</sup> τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις κακοπάθειαν<sup>5</sup> ἤρειτο τὴν ῥαθυμίαν καὶ ῥαστώνην, οὗτος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις κινδύνους πολλάκις ἡγεμὼν ἐκπεμπόμενος τὴν μὲν ἐκ τούτων ἀτιμίαν προσποιεῖτο,<sup>6</sup> ἐτοίμως<sup>7</sup> δ' ἑαυτὸν<sup>8</sup> εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας λειτουργίας ἐπιτιθεὶς πολλὴν ἐμπερίαν περιποιήσατο τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων. ὧν δὲ εὐφύης πρὸς ἀγῶνας καὶ κινδύνους καὶ τούτους ὑπομένων προθύμως ταχὺ μεγάλην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν καὶ δόξαν ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ. ἐπιεικῶς δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις προσφερόμενος καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Valesius.

<sup>2</sup> So Wesseling : τῶν στρατηγῶν P.

<sup>3</sup> So Valesius : παρετρεῖτο P.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν added by Valesius (τὴν ἐν Salmasius).

<sup>5</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius : κακοπαθείας P.

<sup>6</sup> οὐ προσποιεῖτο Wifstrand. Perhaps ἀτιμίαν τιμὴν (Warrington suggests τιμᾶν) προσποιεῖτο?

military ability, and was a friend and ally of the Roman people. This was natural, as he had previously spent much time in Rome, had come to share their ideals and way of life, and through Rome's support had succeeded to his chieftainship in Gaul.

38. Marius, though a member of the staff and a <sup>109/3 B C</sup> legate,<sup>1</sup> received scant notice from the general, since he was least of the legates in repute. While the other legates, more prominent by virtue of the offices they had held and the nobility of their birth, received many marks of favour from the general, Marius, who was reputed to have been a tax farmer and had barely secured election to the lower ranks of office,<sup>2</sup> was slighted whenever preferment was made to posts of honour. But whereas each of the others, avoiding all possible discomfort in the performance of their military duties, preferred a life of ease and indolence, Marius, when assigned, as he frequently was, to lead his men into the thick of battle, welcomed the disparagement shown therein, and applying himself eagerly to such services acquired much experience in warfare. And since he had a natural talent for combat and battle, and gladly exposed himself to their risks, he soon won great influence and a reputation for courage. Moreover, by treating his soldiers with consideration and by employing means designed to please those under his command,

<sup>1</sup> C. Marius had accompanied Q. Caecilius Metellus, the consul of 109 B.C., to Africa.

<sup>2</sup> He was *tribunus plebis* in 119 B.C., but failed of election to the aedileship and ran last of the successful candidates for the praetorship in 115 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> ἐτοίμως proposed in Dindorf<sup>2</sup>: ὁμοίως P, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> δ' ἑαυτὸν Büttner-Wobst : δὲ αὐτὸν P, δὲ αὐτὸν Dindorf.

ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ συμπεριφοραῖς κεχαρισμέναις τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις χρώμενος μεγάλην εὐνοίαν ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις περιποιήσατο. πάντες γὰρ τῆς εὐεργεσίας χάριν ἀποδιδόντες ἐν ταῖς μετὰ τούτου μάχαις φιλοτιμότερον ἡγωνίζοντο, συναύξοντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· εἰ δὲ τύχοι τις τῶν ἄλλων πρεσβευτῶν ἡγούμενος, ἐθελοκακοῦντες ἀπεδειλίων κατὰ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους<sup>1</sup> καιροὺς. καὶ συνέβαινε κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμονίαις Ῥωμαίους ἡττᾶσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς τοῦ Μαρίου παρουσίας αἰεὶ νικᾶν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 313-314.)

39. Ὅτι Βόκχος ὁ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην βασιλεύων πολλὰ καταμεμψάμενος τοῖς πείσασιν αὐτὸν πολέμειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων αἰτούμενος συγγνώμην, ἀξιώων δὲ φιλίαν συνθέσθαι καὶ πολλὰ κατεπαγγελλόμενος χρήσιμος ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις. τοῦ δὲ Μαρίου κελεύσαντος περὶ τούτων πρεσβεύειν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβευτὰς περὶ τούτων, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν ἀπάντων τεύξεσθαι τῶν φιλανθρώπων τὸν<sup>2</sup> Βόκχον, ἔαν Μάριον πείσῃ. τοῦ δὲ Μαρίου σπεύδοντος αἰχμάλωτον λαβεῖν Ἰογόρθαν τὸν βασιλέα, ὑπακούσας ὁ Βόκχος καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τοῦτον, ὡς περὶ τινων κοινῇ συμφερόντων διαλεξόμενος, συνέλαβε τὸν Ἰογόρθαν καὶ δῆσας παρέδωκε Λευκίῳ Σύλλᾳ τῷ ταμίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τὴν παράπεμψιν ἐκπεμφθέντι. τῇ δὲ τούτου συμφορᾷ τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν πορισάμενος διελύθη τῆς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τιμωρίας.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 407-408.)

whether in bestowing gifts, in conversation, or in routine contacts with them, he gained great popularity among his men. In return for his favours they fought all the more zealously when in battle with him, in order to enhance his prestige; but if some other legate happened to be in command they played the coward deliberately and at the most crucial moments. So it came about that as a rule the Romans suffered setbacks under the command of the others, but always conquered if Marius was present.

39. Bocchus,<sup>1</sup> who had a kingdom in Libya, after 105 B.C. hurling many reproaches at the men who had persuaded him to take up arms against the Romans, sent envoys to Marius; he besought pardon for his past offences and requested a pact of friendship, promising that he would be helpful to the Romans in many ways. When Marius told him to address his petitions to the senate, the king dispatched an embassy to Rome charged with these matters. The senate, however, returned them the answer that Bocchus would be granted complete satisfaction provided he won Marius' consent. Now Marius had in mind to capture King Jugurtha, and Bocchus met his wishes by sending for Jugurtha, ostensibly to discuss with him matters pertaining to their common advantage; and having seized and bound him, he then handed him over to Lucius Sulla, the quaestor appointed to escort him. Thus did Bocchus, securing his own safety at Jugurtha's expense, escape retribution at the hands of the Romans.

<sup>1</sup> Bocchus was the king of Mauretania, and father-in-law to Jugurtha.

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: ἀναγκαιοτέρους P.

<sup>2</sup> So Wesseling: φιλανθρωπιῶν O.

39a. "Ὅτι ὁ πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαῖος ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ πόλει ὦν συγκεκλεισμένος ὑπὸ τινος τῶν φίλων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς, τὸν μὲν ἐπιβουλευσάντα συλλαβὼν ἐτιμωρήσατο, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσι φίλοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπίστευεν. (Const. Exc. 3, p. 208.)

37. . . . Κάρβωνος καὶ Σιλανοῦ· τοσούτου δὲ πλήθους ἀνηρημένου οἱ μὲν υἱοὺς οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπένθουν, τινὲς δὲ πατέρων ὀρφανοὶ παῖδες ἀπολειμμένοι τὴν τῶν γονέων ἀπώλειαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐρημίαν κατωδύροντο, πλείσται δὲ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἐστερημέναι χηρείας ἀτυχοῦς ἐλάμβανον πείραν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος μεγαλοψύχως φέρουσα τὴν συμφορὰν τὰ τε πολλὰ πένθη καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κλαυθμῶν τὸ πολὺ κατέστελλε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ λύπην ἐπικρυπτομένην βαρέως<sup>1</sup> ἔφερεν. (Const. Exc. 4, p. 392.)

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *βαθέως* (cp. Book 26. 3. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter, nicknamed Lathyrus ("Chickpea"). After his escape in 108/7 B.C. from his mother Cleopatra III, who favoured a younger son, Ptolemy X Alexander, he found refuge in 106 B.C. in Seleucia in Pieria, where he remained for several years. As so often, it is hard to tell whether *φῶλοι* has here the technical sense of a court title.

39a. While the elder Ptolemy<sup>1</sup> was shut up in the city of Seleucia, a plot against him was formed by one of his friends. He arrested and punished the offender, and henceforth did not trust his safety to "friends" indiscriminately.

37. . . . of Carbo and Silanus.<sup>2</sup> Since so great a multitude had perished, some grieved for sons, others for brothers; children, left fatherless, bewailed the loss of a sire and the desolation of Italy; and large numbers of women, bereft of their husbands, were made acquainted with the sad fate of widowhood. The senate, with courageous fortitude in the face of disaster, sought to restrain the general mourning and the excessive lamentation, and bore their heavy load of grief without showing it.

<sup>1</sup> Cn. Papirius Carbo, as consul in 113 B.C., suffered a disastrous defeat by the Cimbri near Noreia; M. Iunius Silanus, consul of 109 B.C., was defeated in Gaul by the Cimbri in 109 or 108 B.C. Evidently the present occasion is compared with these earlier defeats, and must therefore be dated in 105 B.C. when the consul Cn. Mallius Maximus and proconsul Q. Servilius Caepio were both disastrously defeated in Gaul, at Arausio (Orange), and emergency measures were called for at home. This date and placing of the fragment is completely consistent with its position in the collection *De Sententiis*.



# FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXVI

1. Ὅτι ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καθ' οὓς Μάριος μὲν τοὺς κατὰ Λιβύην βασιλεῖς Βόκχον καὶ Ἰουγούρθαν κατεπολέμησε μεγάλη παρατάξει, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν τῶν Λιβύων μυριάδας ἀνείλεν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰουγούρθαν συλληφθέντα ὑπὸ Βόκχου, ὥστε τυχεῖν συγγνώμης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοῖς κατέστη πρὸς πόλεμον, λαβὼν ἐκείθεν αἰχμάλωτον εἶχε, μεγίστοις δὲ πταίσμασι τοῖς κατὰ Γαλατίαν τῶν Κίμβρων πολεμούντων Ῥωμαῖοι περιπεσόντες ἡθύνουν, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἤκόν τινες ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἀπόστασιν ἀγγέλλοντες οἰκετῶν εἰς πολλὰς ἀριθμουμένων μυριάδας. οὐ προσαγγελλέντος, ἐν πολλῇ περιστάσει τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἅπαν συνεχόμενον διετέλει, ὡς ἂν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιλέκτων σχεδὸν ἑξακισμυρίων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Κίμβρους κατὰ Γαλατίαν πολέμῳ διολωλόντων, καὶ ἀπόρων ὄντων εἰς ἀποστολὴν στρατιωτῶν λογάδων.

2. Πρὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τῶν δούλων ἐπαναστάσεως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλείους ἀποστάσεις ὀλιγοχρόνιοι καὶ μικραί, καθάπερ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> In this monstrous sentence Photius has condensed the events of several years. The decisive battle with the Libyan kings, described by Sallust, *Iug.* 101, occurred near Cirta in the winter of 106/5 B.C., and sometime in 105 Jugurtha was

# FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXVI

1. In Rome, at about the same time that Marius <sup>104 B.C.</sup> defeated the Libyan kings Bocchus and Jugurtha in a great battle and slew many tens of thousands of Libyans, and, later, took thence and held captive Jugurtha himself (after he had been seized by Bocchus who thereby won pardon from the Romans for the offences that had brought him into war with them), at the time, furthermore, that the Romans, at war with the Cimbri, were disheartened, having met with very serious reverses in Gaul—at about this time,<sup>1</sup> I repeat, men arrived in Rome from Sicily bearing news of an uprising of slaves, their numbers running into many tens of thousands. With the advent of this fresh news the whole Roman state found itself in a crisis, inasmuch as nearly sixty thousand allied troops<sup>2</sup> had perished in the war in Gaul against the Cimbri and there were no legionary forces available to send out.

2. Even before the new uprising of the slaves in Sicily there had occurred in Italy a number of short-lived and minor revolts, as though the supernatural

taken prisoner (cp. Books 34/5. 39). For the defeat inflicted by the Cimbri at Arausio late in 105 B.C. see Books 34/5. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, 6. 26. 6, uses *ἐπιλεκτοί* = Lat. *socii extraordinarii*. The word *λογάδες*, below, in the sense of "legionaries," appears to be post-classical, and its use here is probably due to Photius, not to Diodorus.

δαιμονίου προσημαίνοντος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐσομένης κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπαναστάσεως, πρώτη μὲν ἡ περὶ Νουκερίαν, τριάκοντα οἰκετῶν συνωμοσίαν ποιησαμένων καὶ ταχὺ κολασθέντων, δευτέρα ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύην, διακοσίων οἰκετῶν ἐπαναστάν-  
 2 των καὶ ταχὺ καταλυθέντων. τρίτῃ δὲ παράδοξος γέγονέ τις. ἦν Τίτος Μενουίτιος,<sup>1</sup> ἱππεὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίων, μεγαλοπλούτου δὲ πατρὸς παῖς. οὗτος ἠράσθη θεραπαινίδος ἀλλοτρίας κάλλει διαφερούσης. συμπλακεῖς δ' αὐτῇ καὶ εἰς ἔρωτα παράδοξον αὐτῆς ἐμπεσὼν ἐξηγόρασεν αὐτήν, οὕτω τοῦ τε μανιώδους ἔρωτος βιαζομένου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου τῆς κόρης τὴν πρᾶσιν μόλις κατανεύσαντος, τάλαντων Ἀττικῶν ἑπτά, καὶ χρόνον ὥρισε καθ' ὃν ἀποτίσει τὸ χρέος· ἐπιστεύετο δὲ διὰ τὴν πατρῶαν περιουσίαν. ἐνσπᾶντος δὲ τοῦ ὀρισθέντος, καὶ μὴ ἔχων ἀποδοῦναι, πάλιν ἔταξε τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν προθεσμίαν.  
 3 ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐπιστάσης οἱ μὲν ἀπήτουν, ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν πλέον εἶχεν ἀνύειν, ὃ δ' ἔρως ἤκμαζεν, ἐπεχείρησε πράξει παραλογωτάτῃ. ἐπιβουλεύει μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντας, ἐαυτῷ δὲ μοναρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν περιέθηκε. συναγοράσας γὰρ πεντακοσίας πανοπλίας καὶ χρόνον τῆς τιμῆς συντάξας, καὶ πιστευθεὶς, λάθρα πρὸς ἄγρόν τινα παρακομίσας τοὺς ἰδίους ἀνέσεισε πρὸς ἀπόστασιν οἰκέτας,  
 4 τετρακοσίους ὄντας. εἰτα ἀναλαβὼν διάδημα καὶ περιβόλαιον πορφυροῦν καὶ ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> μὲν Οὐέτιος Wesseling, deleting μὲν after ἱππεὺς, below (cp. chap. 2. 6 and chap. 2a).

<sup>1</sup> The text of Photius gives the name here as Titus Minucius, but below as Vettius in agreement with the parallel

was indicating in advance the magnitude of the impending Sicilian rebellion. The first was at Nuceria, where thirty slaves formed a conspiracy and were promptly punished; the second at Capua, where two hundred rose in insurrection and were promptly put down. The third was surprising in character. There was a certain Titus Minucius,<sup>1</sup> a Roman knight and the son of a very wealthy father. This man fell in love with a servant girl of outstanding beauty who belonged to another. Having lain with her and fallen unbelievably in love, he purchased her freedom for seven Attic talents (his infatuation being so compelling, and the girl's master having consented to the sale only reluctantly), and fixed a time by which he was to pay off the debt, for his father's abundant means obtained him credit. When the appointed day came and he was unable to pay, he set a new deadline of thirty days. When this day too was at hand and the sellers put in a claim for payment, while he, though his passion was in full tide, was no better able than before to carry out his bargain, he then embarked on an enterprise that passes all comprehension: he made designs on the life of those who were dunning him, and arrogated to himself autocratic powers. He bought up five hundred suits of armour, and contracting for a delay in payment, which he was granted, he secretly conveyed them to a certain field and stirred up his own slaves, four hundred in number, to rise in revolt. Then, having assumed the diadem and a purple cloak, together with lictors and the other appurtenances of

fragment in the Constantinian excerpts (chap. 2a). The corruption could have proceeded in either direction. To judge by the sequel this revolt too occurred near Capua.

ἀλλὰ σύσσημα<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ βασιλέα ἑαυτὸν  
 συνεργία τῶν δούλων ἀναδείξας, τοὺς μὲν ἀπαι-  
 τοῦντας τὴν τιμὴν τῆς κόρης ραβδίᾳς ἐπελέκισεν,  
 ἐξοπλίσας δὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπῆει τὰς σύνεγγυς  
 ἐπαύλεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν προθύμως συναφισταμένους  
 καθώπλιζε, τοὺς δ' ἀντιπράττοντας ἀνῆρει. ταχὺ  
 δὲ συναγαγὼν στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν ἑπτακοσίων  
 καὶ τούτους εἰς ἑκατονταρχίας καταλέξας, ἐνε-  
 βάλετο χάρακα καὶ τοὺς ἀφισταμένους ὑπέδεχτο.  
 5 τῆς δ' ἀποστάσεως εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθείσης, ἣ  
 σύγκλητος ἐμφρόνως περὶ αὐτῆς ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ  
 κατάρθωσε. τῶν γὰρ κατὰ πόλιν στρατηγῶν ἀπ-  
 ἔδειξεν ἓνα πρὸς τὴν δραπετῶν σύλληψιν,  
 Λεύκιον Λούκουλλον. οὗτος δὲ αὐθημερὸν ἐκ τῆς  
 Ῥώμης ἐπιλέξας στρατιώτας ἑξακοσίους, εἰς τὴν  
 Καπύην ἦλθε συναθροίσας πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισ-  
 6 χίλους, ἵππεῖς δὲ τετρακοσίους. ὁ δὲ Οὐέττιος τὴν  
 ὁρμὴν τοῦ Λουκούλλου πυθόμενος κατελάβετο λόφον  
 καρτερόν, ἔχων τοὺς πάντας πλεόν τῶν τρισχιλίων  
 καὶ πεντακοσίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συμβολῆς  
 γενομένης ἐπλεονέκτησαν οἱ δραπεταὶ ἐκ τόπων  
 ὑπερδεξίων μαχόμενοι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν μὲν  
 στρατηγὸν τοῦ Οὐεττίου Ἀπολλώνιον διαφθείρας  
 ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ τῇ δημοσίᾳ πίστει τὴν ἄφεισιν  
 τῆς τιμωρίας βεβαιώσας, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν προδοτὴν  
 γενέσθαι τῶν συναποστατῶν. διὸ καὶ τούτου συν-  
 εργοῦντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὰς χεῖρας προσφέ-  
 ροντος τῷ Οὐεττίῳ, φοβηθεῖς<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως  
 τιμωρίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, αὐτίκα συναπολω-  
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office, and having with the co-operation of the slaves  
 proclaimed himself king, he flogged and beheaded  
 the persons who were demanding payment for the  
 girl. Arming his slaves, he marched on the neigh-  
 bouring farmsteads and gave arms to those who  
 eagerly joined his revolt, but slew anyone who  
 opposed him. Soon he had more than seven hundred  
 soldiers, and having enrolled them by centuries he  
 constructed a palisade and welcomed all who re-  
 vulted. When word of the uprising was reported  
 at Rome the senate took prudent measures and  
 remedied the situation. Of the praetors then in the  
 city they appointed one, Lucius Lucullus,<sup>1</sup> to appre-  
 hend the fugitives. That very day he selected six  
 hundred soldiers in Rome itself, and by the time he  
 reached Capua had mustered four thousand infantry  
 and four hundred cavalry. Vettius, on learning that  
 Lucullus was on his way, occupied a strong hill with  
 an army that now totalled more than thirty-five  
 hundred men. The forces engaged, and at first the  
 fugitives had the advantage, since they were fight-  
 ing from higher ground; but later Lucullus, by  
 suborning Apollonius, the general of Vettius, and  
 guaranteeing him in the name of the state immunity  
 from punishment, persuaded him to turn traitor  
 against his fellow rebels. Since he was now co-  
 operating with the Romans and turning his forces  
 against Vettius, the latter, fearing the punishment  
 that would await him if he were captured, slew  
 himself, and was presently joined in death by all who

<sup>1</sup> L. Licinius Lucullus, *praetor urbanus* or *peregrinus* in  
 104 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> So Reiske: τὰ εὖσημα A, εὖσημα cett.

<sup>2</sup> Herwerden supplies οἷτος (or Οὐέττιος) before φοβηθεῖς.



λότων καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀποστάσεως κεκοινωνηκότων  
πλήν τοῦ προδόontos Ἀπολλωνίου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν  
πρὸ τῆς κατὰ Σικελίαν, ὡς περ προοιμιαζόμενα  
ταύτη,<sup>1</sup> μεγίστης ἀποστάσεως· ἣτις ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε  
τοιαύτην. (Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 386-387 B.)

2a. Ὅτι πολλαὶ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο οἰκετῶν·  
πρώτη μὲν ἡ περὶ τὴν Νουκερίαν, τριάκοντα οἰ-  
κετῶν συνωμοσίαν ποιησαμένων καὶ ταχὺ κολασ-  
θέντων, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύην, διακοσίων  
οἰκετῶν ἐπαναστάντων καὶ ταχὺ κολασθέντων· τρί-  
τη δὲ ἀπόστασις ἐγένετο παράδοξος καὶ πολὺ  
τὰς εἰθισμένας διαλλάττουσα. ἦν γάρ τις Τίτος  
μὲν Οὐέτιος,<sup>2</sup> ἱππεὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ὃς ἔχων πα-  
τέρα μεγαλόπλουτον καὶ νέος ὢν παντελῶς εἰς  
ἐπιθυμίαν ἦλθεν ἀλλοτρίας θεραπαινίδος κάλλει  
διαφερούσης. ἐπιπλακεῖς δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ συμβιώσας  
ικανόν τινα χρόνον εἰς ἔρωτα παράδοξον ἐνέπεσε  
καὶ διάθεσιν μανίᾳ παρεμφερῇ. διὰ γὰρ τὴν φιλο-  
στοργίαν ἐπιβαλόμενος ἐξαγοράσαι τὴν παιδίσκην  
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔσχε τὸν δεσπότην αὐτῆς ἀντι-  
πράττοντα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς τιμῆς  
προτρεψάμενος ἐξηγόρασεν αὐτὴν ταλάντων Ἀτ-  
τικῶν ἑπτὰ, καὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῆς τιμῆς εἰς τακτὸν  
χρόνον συνέθετο. πιστευθεὶς δὲ τοῦ χρήματος<sup>3</sup> διὰ  
τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐπορίαν ἀπήγαγε τὴν θεραπαινίδα,  
καὶ καταδύς εἰς τινα τῶν πατρικῶν ἀγρῶν ἐξεπλή-  
ρου τὴν ἰδίαν<sup>4</sup> ἐπιθυμίαν. ὥς δὲ ὁ συγκείμενος τοῦ  
χρέους χρόνος διήλθεν, ἦκον οἱ πεμφθέντες εἰς τὴν  
ἀπαίτησιν. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν ἀνα-  
βαλόμενος τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, καὶ τὸ μὲν χρήμα οὐ

had taken part in the insurrection, save only the  
traitor Apollonius. Now these events, forming as it  
were a prelude, preceded the major revolt in Sicily,  
which began in the following manner.

2a. There were many new uprisings of slaves, the  
first at Nuceria, where thirty slaves formed a con-  
spiracy and were promptly punished, and the second  
at Capua, where two hundred slaves rose in insur-  
rection and also were promptly punished. A third  
revolt was extraordinary and quite out of the usual  
pattern. There was a certain Titus Vettius,<sup>1</sup> a  
Roman knight, whose father was a person of great  
wealth. Being a very young man, he was attracted  
by a servant girl of outstanding beauty who belonged  
to another. Having lain with her, and even lived  
with her for a certain length of time, he fell marvel-  
lously in love and into a state bordering, in fact, on  
madness. Wishing because of his affection for her  
to purchase the girl's freedom, he at first encountered  
her master's opposition, but later, having won his  
consent by the magnitude of the offer, he purchased  
her for seven Attic talents, and agreed to pay the  
purchase price at a stipulated time. His father's  
wealth obtaining him credit for the sum, he carried the  
girl off, and hiding away at one of his father's country  
estates sated his private lusts. But when the stipu-  
lated time for the debt came round he was visited  
by men sent to demand payment. He put off the  
settlement till thirty days later, and when he was

<sup>1</sup> See above, note on chap. 2. 2.

<sup>2</sup> So Feder, Müller: *τίγγος μὲν οὐέτιος* S. Herwerden  
would add *ὄνομα*, unless *Μενούτιος* is read.

<sup>3</sup> *τῶν χρημάτων* Hertlein.

<sup>4</sup> Feder would delete *ἰδίαν*.

<sup>1</sup> ταύτη ed. Hoeschel, in margin: ταῦτι A, ταύτη cett.

δυνάμενος πορίσαι, τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι δουλεύων, ἐπεχείρησε πράξει παραλογωτάτῃ. διὰ γὰρ τοῦ πάθους τὴν ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀναβολῆς<sup>1</sup> ἐπακολουθοῦσαν αἰσχύνην ἐξετράπη πρὸς διαλογισμοὺς παιδαριώδεις καὶ πολλῆς ἀφροσύνης μεστούς. πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ λαμβάνων τὸν ἐσόμενον τῆς ἐρωμένης διαχωρισμὸν τοῖς μὲν ἀπαιτοῦσι τὴν τιμὴν ἀνέλπιστον ἐπιβουλὴν συνεστήσατο. . . .

(*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 208.)

3. Κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κίμβρους τοῦ Μαρίου στρατείαν ἔδωκεν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξουσίαν τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐκ τῶν πέραν θαλάττης<sup>2</sup> ἔθνων μεταπέμπεσθαι συμμαχίαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν<sup>3</sup> Μάριος ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς Νικομήδην τὸν τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλέα περὶ βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκε τοὺς πλείους τῶν Βιθυνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δημοσιωνῶν διαρπαγέντας δουλεύειν ἐν ταῖς<sup>2</sup> ἐπαρχίαις. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης ὅπως μηδεὶς σύμμαχος ἐλεύθερος ἐν ἐπαρχίᾳ δουλεύῃ καὶ τῆς τούτων ἐλευθερώσεως οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρόνοιαν ποιῶνται, τότε κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὧν στρατηγὸς Λικίνιος Νέρουας ἀκολούθως τῷ δόγματι συχνοὺς τῶν δούλων ἡλευθέρωσε, κρίσεις προθεῖς, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πλείους τῶν ὀκτακοσίων τυγχέειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας. καὶ ἦσαν πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον δουλεύοντες μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δ' ἐν ἀξιώμασι συνδραμόντες παρεκάλουν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστήναι ταύτης τῆς

<sup>1</sup> So Feder: ἐπιβολῆς S.

<sup>2</sup> So Scaliger, Rhodoman: θαλατῶν.

<sup>3</sup> ὁ μὲν οὖν B, ὁ μὲν A, ὅθεν cett.

still unable to furnish the money, but was now a very slave to love, he embarked on an enterprise that passes all comprehension. Indeed, the extreme severity of his affliction and the embarrassment that accompanied his failure to pay promptly caused his mind to turn to childish and utterly foolish calculations. Faced by impending separation from his mistress, he formed a desperate plot against those who were demanding payment. . . .

3. In the course of Marius' campaign against the Cimbri the senate granted Marius permission to summon military aid from the nations situated beyond the seas.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly Marius sent to Nicomedes, the king of Bithynia, requesting assistance. The king replied that the majority of the Bithynians had been seized by tax farmers and were now in slavery in the Roman provinces. The senate then issued a decree that no citizen of an allied state should be held in slavery in a Roman province, and that the praetors should provide for their liberation. In compliance with the decree Licinius Nerva,<sup>2</sup> who was at this time governor of Sicily, appointed hearings and set free a number of slaves, with the result that in a few days more than eight hundred persons obtained their freedom. And all who were in slavery throughout the island were agog with hopes of freedom. The notables, however, assembled in haste and entreated the praetor to desist from this course.

triumph over Jugurtha on January 1, 104 B.C., and to enter upon his second consulship, was promptly given the command in Gaul.—The king of Bithynia at this time was Nicomedes II Epiphanes (149—c. 94 B.C.).

<sup>2</sup> P. Licinius Nerva was governor of Sicily in 104 B.C., either as praetor or as proprætor. Dio Cassius, 27. 93, gives a somewhat different version of the present story.

<sup>1</sup> C. Marius, after returning to Rome to celebrate his  
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ἐπιβολῆς. ὁ δ' εἴτε χρήμασι πεισθεὶς εἴτε χάριτι<sup>1</sup> δουλεύσας τῆς μὲν τῶν κριτηρίων τούτων σπουδῆς ἀπέστη, καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας ἐπὶ τῷ τυχεῖν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπιπλήττων εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους κυρίους προσέταπτεν ἐπαναστρέφειν. οἱ δὲ δούλοι συστραφέντες καὶ τῶν Συρακουσῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὸ τῶν Παλικῶν τέμενος διελάλουν<sup>4</sup> πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἀποστάσεως. ἐκεῖθεν ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν τόλμης ἐκδήλου γινομένης, πρῶτοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντεποιήσαντο κατὰ τὴν Ἀλικυαίων<sup>3</sup> χώραν ἀδελφῶν δυεῖν μεγάλουτύων οἰκέται τριάκοντα, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ὁάριος ὄνομα· οἱ πρῶτον μὲν νυκτὸς κοιμωμένους τοὺς ἰδίους δεσπότης ἀπέσφαξαν, εἰτα ἐπὶ τὰς γειτνιώσας ἐπαυλεις παρελθόντες παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοὺς δούλους· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ<sup>5</sup> συνέδραμον πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. καὶ καταλαμβάνοντι χωρίον φύσει ὀχυρόν, τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐπωχύρωσαν, προσδεξάμενοι καὶ ἐτέρους δούλους ὥπλισμένους ὀγδοήκοντα. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῆς ἐπαρχίας Λικίνιος Νέρουας κατὰ τάχος αὐτοῖς ἐπελθὼν καὶ πολιορκῶν ἄπρακτον ἔσχε τὴν σπουδὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ βία ἀνάλωτον τὸ<sup>3</sup> φρούριον ἑώρα ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ὄρᾳ, καὶ σωτηρίας ὑποσχέσει Γάιον Τιτίνιον ἐπικαλούμενον Γαδαῖον ἀναπέισας (ἦν δ' οὗτος πρὸ δυεῖν ἐτῶν καταδικασθεὶς μὲν θανάτῳ, τὴν τιμωρίαν δ' ἐκφυγὼν καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐλευθέρων κατὰ ληστείαν ἀναιρῶν, οὐδένα δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν παραλυπῶν) εἶχεν ὑπηρέτην

Whether he was won over by their bribes or weakly succumbed in his desire to favour them, in any case he ceased to show interest in these tribunals, and when men approached him to obtain freedom he rebuked them and ordered them to return to their masters. The slaves, banding together, departed from Syracuse, and taking refuge in the sanctuary of the Palici<sup>1</sup> canvassed the question of revolution. From this point on the audacity of the slaves was made manifest in many places, but the first to make a bid for freedom were the thirty slaves of two very wealthy brothers in the region of Halicyae, led by a man named Varius. They first murdered their own masters by night as they lay sleeping, then proceeded to the neighbouring villas and summoned the slaves to freedom. In this one night more than a hundred and twenty gathered together. Seizing a position that was naturally strong, they strengthened it even further, having received in the meantime an increment of eighty armed slaves. Licinius Nerva, the governor of the province, marched against them in haste, but though he placed them under siege his efforts were in vain. When he saw that their fortress could not be taken by force, he set his hopes on treason. As the instrument for his purpose he had one Gaius Titinius, surnamed Gadaeus, whom he won over with promises of immunity. This man had been condemned to death two years before, but had escaped punishment, and living as a brigand had murdered many of the free men of the region, while abstaining from harm to any of the slaves.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this sanctuary and its traditional use as an asylum for slaves see Book 11. 89. It is identified with the present Laghetto di Naftia, near Mineo (anc. Menae).

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: χάρισι.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: Ἀγκυλίων.

<sup>4</sup> A omits τὸ.



6 τοῦ σκοποῦ. οὗτος ἔχων αὐτῷ πιστοὺς οἰκέτας ἱκανοὺς πρόσεισι τῷ φρουρίῳ τῶν ἀποστατῶν, ὡς δὴ συμμεθέξων τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου· εὐ-  
μενῶς δὲ καὶ φιλοφρόνως προσδεχθεὶς ἡρέθη διὰ  
τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ στρατηγὸς, καὶ προὔδωκε τὸ  
φρούριον. τῶν δ' ἀποστατῶν οἱ μὲν μαχόμενοι  
κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως δεδιότες  
τιμωρίαν ἑαυτοὺς κατεκρήμνισαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη  
τῶν δραπετῶν στάσις κατελύθη τὸν εἰρημένον  
τρόπον.

4. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἀπολυ-  
θέντων, ἡκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι Πόπλιον  
Κλόνιον, γενόμενον ἱππέα Ῥωμαίων, ἐπαναστάντες  
οἱ δοῦλοι κατέσφαξαν ὀγδοήκοντα ὄντες, καὶ ὅτι  
πλήθος ἀγείρουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν στρατηγὸς ἐτέρων  
βουλαῖς παρακρουσθεὶς, ἤδη καὶ τῶν πλείστων  
στρατιωτῶν ἀπολελυμένων,<sup>1</sup> καιρὸν παρείχε διὰ  
τῆς ἀναβολῆς τοῖς ἀποστάταις βέλτιον αὐτοῦ  
2 ἀσφαλίσασθαι. προῆγε δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐνόντων στρα-  
τιωτῶν, καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἄλβαν ποταμὸν παρῆλθε  
τοὺς ἀποστάτας διατρίβοντας ἐν ὄρει καλουμένῳ  
Καπριανῷ, καὶ κατήντησεν εἰς πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν  
ἐκ γούν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ μὴ προσβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατη-  
γὸν ἀτολμίαν αὐτοῦ διαφημίσαντες συχνοὺς ἀνέ-  
σειον τῶν οἰκετῶν. καὶ πολλῶν συρρεόντων καὶ  
τὸν δυνατὸν τρόπον εἰς μάχην παρασκευαζόμενων,  
ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις καθωπλίσθησαν  
πλείους τῶν ὀκτακοσίων, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἐγένοντο τῶν  
3 δισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους. πυθόμενος δ' ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ

<sup>1</sup> A omits στρατιωτῶν ἀπολελυμένων.

<sup>2</sup> γούν A, γὰρ cett. Bekker suggests δ' οὖν.

Now, taking with him a sufficient body of loyal slaves, he approached the fortress of the rebels, as though intending to join them in the war against the Romans. Welcomed with open arms as a friend, he was even chosen, because of his valour, to be general, whereupon he betrayed the fortress. Of the rebels some were cut down in battle, and others, fearing the punishment that would follow on their capture, cast themselves down from the heights. Thus was the first uprising of the fugitives quelled.

4. After the soldiers had disbanded and returned to their usual abodes, word was brought that eighty slaves had risen in rebellion and murdered Publius Clonius, who had been a Roman knight, and, further, that they were now engaged in gathering a large band. The praetor, distracted by the advice of others<sup>1</sup> and by the fact that most of his forces had been disbanded, failed to act promptly and so provided the rebels an opportunity to make their position more secure. But he set out with the soldiers that were available, and after crossing the river Alba<sup>2</sup> passed by the rebels who were quartered on Mount Caprianus and reached the city of Heracleia. By spreading the report that the praetor was a coward, since he had not attacked them, they aroused a large number of slaves to revolt, and with an influx of many recruits, who were equipped for battle in such fashion as was possible, within the first seven days they had more than eight hundred men under arms, and soon thereafter numbered not less than two thousand. When the praetor

<sup>1</sup> Presumably, the members of his *consilium*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably identical with the Allava of the *Itinerarium Anton.* 88.

τὴν αὐξήσιν αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡγεμόνα προεχει-  
ρίσατο Μάρκον Τιτίνιον, δοὺς αὐτῷ στρατιώτας  
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἑννης φρουροὺς ἑξακοσίους. οὗτος  
δὲ μάχῃ προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἀποστάταις, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ  
πλήθει καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις ἐπλεονέκτου ἐκείνοι,  
ἐτράπη σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, πολλῶν μὲν ἀναιρε-  
θέντων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ῥιψάντων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ φυγῇ  
μόλις διασωθέντων. καὶ οἱ ἀποστάται ὅπλων τε  
εὐπορήσαντες τοσούτων ἀθρόον καὶ νίκης θρασύ-  
τερον εἶχοντο τῶν ἔργων, καὶ πάντες τῶν δούλων  
<sup>4</sup> ἐμετεωρίζοντο πρὸς ἀπόστασιν. καὶ πολλῶν καθ'  
ἡμέραν ἀφισταμένων σύντομον καὶ παράδοξον ἐλάμ-  
βανον αὐξήσιν, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πλείους γενέ-  
σθαι τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων. τότε<sup>1</sup> δὴ καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν  
συνελθόντες καὶ βουλῆς προτεθείσης πρῶτον μὲν  
εἶλαντο βασιλέα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Σάλουιον, δο-  
κοῦντα τῆς ἱεροσκοπίας ἔμπειρον εἶναι καὶ ταῖς  
γυναικείαις θέαις αὐλομανοῦντα.<sup>2</sup> οὗτος βασιλεύσας  
τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἀργίας αἰτίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ τρυφῆς νομίζων  
ἐξέκλινεν, εἰς τρία δὲ μερίσας τοὺς ἀποστάτας καὶ  
ἴσους ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας ταῖς μερίσι προσ-  
<sup>5</sup> ἔταξεν ἐπιέναι τὴν χώραν καὶ πρὸς ἓνα τόπον καὶ  
καίρῳ ἅπαντας ἀπαντᾶν. διὸ πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς  
ἐπελασίας ἄλλων τε ζώων καὶ ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες  
ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατεσκευάσθησαν ἵππεῖς μὲν  
πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων, πεζοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν  
δισμυρίων, ἥδη καὶ γυμνασίαις πολεμικαῖς ἐνδια-  
πρέποντες. προσπεσόντες οὖν ἄφνω πόλει ὀχυρᾷ  
Μοργαντίνῃ προσβολὰς ἐνεργεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐποι-

<sup>1</sup> So Walton: ὅτε.

learned at Heracleia of their growing numbers he  
appointed Marcus Titinius as commander, giving  
him a force of six hundred men from the garrison  
at Enna. Titinius launched an attack on the rebels,  
but since they held the advantage both in numbers  
and by reason of the difficult terrain, he and his men  
were routed, many of them being killed, while the  
rest threw down their arms and barely made good  
their escape by flight. The rebels, having gained  
both a victory and so many arms all at once, main-  
tained their efforts all the more boldly, and all slaves  
everywhere were now keyed up to revolt. Since  
there were many who revolted each day, their  
numbers received a sudden and marvellous increase,  
and in a few days there were more than six thousand.  
Thereupon they held an assembly, and when the  
question was laid before them first of all chose as  
their king a man named Salvius, who was reputed  
to be skilled in divination and was a flute-player of  
frenetic music at performances for women. When  
he became king he avoided the cities, regarding them  
as the source of sloth and self-indulgence, and  
dividing the rebels into three groups, over whom he  
set a like number of commanders, he ordered them  
to scour the country and then assemble in full force  
at a stated time and place. Having provided them-  
selves by their raids with an abundance of horses  
and other beasts, they soon had more than two  
thousand cavalry and no fewer than twenty thousand  
infantry, and were by now making a good showing  
in military exercises. So, descending suddenly on  
the strong city of Morgantina, they subjected it to

<sup>2</sup> αὐλομανοῦντα Wesseling, αὐλοῦντα Scaliger.

<sup>3</sup> αἰτίας added by Wesseling.

6 οὖντο. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ὡς βοηθήσων τῇ πόλει ἐπελθὼν, νυκτοπορία χρησάμενος, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Ἰταλιώτας τε καὶ ἐκ Σικελίας σχεδὸν στρατιώτας μυρίους, κατέλαβε<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἀποστάτας ἀσχολουμένους περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ ἐπιθέμενος αὐτῶν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καὶ εὐρὼν ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς φυλάττοντας, πλῆθος δὲ γυναικῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ λείας ἄλλης παντοδαποῦς, ῥαδίως ἐξεῖλε τὴν στρατοπεδείαν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν διήρπασεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν 7 Μοργαντίνην ἦγεν. οἱ δ' ἀποστάται ἐξαίφνης ἀντεπιθέμενοι, καὶ ὑπερδέξιον τὴν στάσιν<sup>2</sup> ἔχοντας βιαίως τε ἐπιρράξαντες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ<sup>3</sup> προτερήματος ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐτράπησαν πρὸς φυγὴν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν ἀποστατῶν κήρυγμα ποιησάμενου μηδένα κτείνειν τῶν τὰ ὅπλα ῥιπτούντων, οἱ πλείστοι ῥιπτοῦντες ἔφευγον. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Σάλουιος τὴν τε παρεμβολὴν ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ περιβόητον νίκην 8 ἀπενεγκάμενος πολλῶν ὅπλων ἐκυρίευσεν. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν τε καὶ Σικελῶν οὐ πλείους ἑξακοσίων διὰ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος φιланθρωπίαν, ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ τετρακισχιλίους. ὁ δὲ Σάλουιος, πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατορθώματος συρρεόντων, διπλασιάσας τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἐκράτει τῶν ὑπαίθρων, καὶ πολιορκεῖν πάλιν ἐπεχείρει τὴν Μοργαντίναν, κηρύγματι<sup>4</sup> δούς τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ δούλοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. τῶν δὲ κυρίων ἀντιπροτευνόντων αὐτοῖς ταύτην, εἰ σφίσι συναγωνίσαιτο, εἶλοντο μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κυρίων, καὶ προθύμως ἀγωνισάμενοι ἀπετρίψαντο τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν

<sup>1</sup> A omits κατέλαβε.

vigorous and constant assaults. The praetor, with about ten thousand Italian and Sicilian troops, set out to bring aid to the city, marching by night; discovering on his arrival that the rebels were occupied with the siege, he attacked their camp, and finding that it was guarded by a mere handful of men, but was filled with captive women and other booty of all sorts, he captured the place with ease. After plundering the camp he moved on Morgantina. The rebels made a sudden counterattack and, since they held a commanding position and struck with might and main, at once gained the ascendant, and the praetor's forces were routed. When the king of the rebels made proclamation that no one who threw down his arms should be killed, the majority dropped them and ran. Having outwitted the enemy in this manner, Salvius recovered his camp, and by his resounding victory got possession of many arms. Not more than six hundred of the Italians and Sicilians perished in the battle, thanks to the king's humane proclamation, but about four thousand were taken prisoner. Having doubled his forces, since there were many who flocked to him as a result of his success, Salvius was now undisputed master of the open country, and again attempted to take Morgantina by siege. By proclamation he offered the slaves in the city their freedom, but when their masters countered with a like offer if they would join in the defence of the city, they chose rather the side of their masters, and by stout resistance repelled the siege. Later, however, the praetor, by rescind-

<sup>2</sup> στάσιν A, τάξιν cell.

<sup>3</sup> So Scaliger: ὑπό.

<sup>4</sup> So (or κατὰ κήρυγμα) Rhodoman: κήρυγμα.



ἐλευθερίαν ἀνατρέψας αὐτομολῆσαι τοὺς πλειστοὺς παρεσκεύασε τοῖς ἀποστάταις.

5. Περὶ δὲ τὴν Αἰγεσταίων καὶ Λιλυβαϊτῶν χώραν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πλησιοχώρων, ἐνόσει πρὸς ἀπόστασιν τὰ πλήθη τῶν οἰκετῶν. γίνεται δὲ τούτων ἀρχηγὸς Ἀθηνίων ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ ἀνδρεία διαφέρων, Κίλιξ τὸ γένος. οὗτος οἰκονόμος ὢν δυοῖν ἀδελφῶν μεγαλοπλούτων, καὶ τῆς ἀστρομαντικῆς πολλὴν ἔχων ἐμπειρίαν, ἔπεισε τῶν οἰκετῶν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους περὶ διακοσίους ὄντας, ἔπειτα τοὺς γειννιώντας, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις συναχθῆναι πλείους τῶν χιλίων.
- 2 ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων αἰρεθεὶς βασιλεὺς καὶ διάδημα περιθέμενος ἐναντίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀποστάταις τὴν διάθεσιν ἐποιεῖτο. οὐ γὰρ προσεδέχετο πάντας τοὺς ἀφισταμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀρίστους ποιούμενος στρατιώτας τοὺς ἄλλους ἠνάγκαζε μένοντας ἐπὶ τῶν προγεγεννημένων ἐργασιῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἰδίας ἑκάστον οἰκονομίας καὶ τάξεως, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τροφὰς ἀφθόνοους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐχορηγεῖτο.
- 3 προσεποιεῖτο δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἀστρων προσημαίνειν ὡς ἔσονται τῆς Σικελίας συμπάσης βασιλεὺς· διὸ δεῖν αὐτῆς τε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ζώων τε καὶ καρπῶν ὡς ἰδίων φείδεσθαι. τέλος ἀθροίσας ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους ἐτόλμησε πόλιν ἀπόρθητον τὸ Λιλύβαιον πολιορκεῖν. μηδὲν δὲ ἀνύων μετανίστατο αὐτῆς, εἰπὼν αὐτῷ τοὺς θεοὺς τοῦτο ἐπιτάττειν· ἐπιμένοντας γὰρ ἂν<sup>1</sup> τῇ πολιορκίᾳ
- 4 δυστυχήματος πειραθῆναι. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀναχώρησιν, κατέπλευσαν τινες ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ κομίζοντες ἐπιλέκτους Μαυρουσίους, οἱ ἐπὶ βοήθειαν ἦσαν ἀπεσταλμένοι

ing their emancipation, caused the majority of them to desert to the rebels.

5. In the territory of Segesta and Lilybaeum, and of the other neighbouring cities, the fever of insurrection was also raging among the masses of slaves. Here the leader was a certain Athenion, a man of outstanding courage, a Cilician by birth. He was the bailiff of two very wealthy brothers, and having great skill in astrology he won over first the slaves who were under him, some two hundred, and then those in the vicinity, so that in five days he had gathered together more than a thousand men. When he was chosen as king and had put on the diadem, he adopted an attitude just the opposite to that of all the other rebels: he did not admit all who revolted, but making the best ones soldiers, he required the rest to remain at their former labours and to busy themselves each with his domestic affairs and his appointed task; thus Athenion was enabled to provide food in abundance for his soldiers. He pretended, moreover, that the gods forecasted for him, by the stars, that he would be king of all Sicily; consequently, he must needs conserve the land and all its cattle and crops, as being his own property. Finally, when he had assembled a force of more than ten thousand men, he ventured to lay siege to Lilybaeum, an impregnable city. Having failed to achieve anything, he departed thence, saying that this was by order of the gods, and that if they persisted in the siege they would meet with misfortune. While he was yet making ready to withdraw from the city, ships arrived in the harbour bringing a contingent of Mauretanian auxiliaries, who had

<sup>1</sup> ἀν added by Herwerden.

τοῖς Λιλυβαῖταις, ἔχοντες ἡγούμενον δς ὠνομάζετο Γόμων. οὗτος σὺν τοῖς ἅμ' αὐτῷ κατὰ νύκτα καὶ ἀνεπίστως ἐπιθέμενος τοὺς περὶ Ἀθηνίωνα ὁδοιποροῦντας, πολλοὺς καταβαλόντες, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ τραυματίσαντες, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανήλθον. διόπερ οἱ ἀποστάται τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀστρομαντείας πρόρρησιν ἐθαύμαζον.

6. Εἶχε δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν πᾶσαν σύγχυσις καὶ κακῶν Ἰλίας. οὐ γὰρ οἱ δοῦλοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ ἄποροι πᾶσαν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ παρανομίαν ἐργαζόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας δούλους τε καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀπαγγέλλοι τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπόνοιαν, ἐφόνεον ἀναιδῶς.<sup>1</sup> διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ὑπελάμβανον τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς τειχῶν μόλις εἶναι ἴδια, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ἀλλότρια καὶ δοῦλα τῆς παρανόμου χειροκρασίας. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ πολλοῖς ἄτοπα κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐτολμᾶτο. (Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 387-389.)

Chap. 7 : see below, after Chap. 11.

11. Ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὠρμημένον κατέτρεχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ τὰς ἐπὶ χώρας κτήσεις οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐτρέποντο πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν καὶ παρανομίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἑλλειπεῖς ταῖς οὐσίαις διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἅμα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐξεχέοντο κατὰ συστροφὰς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀγέλας τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀπήλανον, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς σταθμοῖς τεθησαυρισμένους καρποὺς διήρπαζον, καὶ τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας ἀνέδην<sup>2</sup> ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ δούλους ἐφόνεον, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀπαγγείλῃ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπόνοιαν τε καὶ 2 παρανομίαν. ἀναρχίας δ' οὐσης διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν 162

been sent to reinforce the city of Lilybaeum and had as their commander a man named Gomon. He and his men made an unexpected attack by night on Athenion's forces as they were on the march, and after felling many and wounding quite a few others returned to the city. As a result the rebels marvelled at his prediction of the event by reading the stars.

6. Turmoil and a very Iliad of woes possessed all Sicily. Not only slaves but also impoverished freemen were guilty of every sort of rapine and lawlessness, and ruthlessly murdered anyone they met, slave or free, so that no one should report their frenzied conduct. As a result all city-dwellers considered what was within the city walls scarcely their own, and whatever was outside as lost to them and subject only to the lawless rule of force. And many besides were the strange deeds perpetrated in Sicily, and many were the perpetrators.

11. Not only<sup>1</sup> did the multitude of slaves who had plunged into revolt ravage the country, but even those freemen who possessed no holdings on the land resorted to rapine and lawlessness. Those without means, impelled alike by poverty and lawlessness, streamed out into the country in swarms, drove off the herds of cattle, plundered the crops stored in the barns, and murdered without more ado all who fell in their way, slave or free alike, so that no one should be able to carry back news of their frantic and lawless conduct. Since no Roman officials

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 11 has been transferred here to its proper position beside the parallel account from Photius.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνέδην Herwerden (cp. chap. 11. 1).

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἀναιδην P.

Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν δικαιοδοτεῖν, πάντες ἀνυπεύθυνον ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας συμφορὰς ἀπειργάζοντο· διὸ καὶ πᾶς τόπος ἔγεμεν ἀρπαγῆς βιαίον ταῖς τῶν εὐπόρων οὐσίαις ἐνεξουσιαζούσης. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν πρωτεύοντες ταῖς τε δόξαις καὶ τοῖς πλούτοις τότε διὰ τὴν ἀνέλπιστον τῆς τύχης μεταβολὴν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν δραπετῶν ὑβριστικῶς ἀπέβαλλον τὰς εὐπορίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καρτερεῖν ἡναγκάζοντο. διὸ καὶ πάντες ὑπελάμβανον τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν πυλῶν μόγις ὑπάρχειν ἴδια, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς τῶν τειχῶν ἀλλότρια καὶ δοῦλα τῆς παρανόμου χειροκρατίας εἶναι. καθόλου δ' ἦν κατὰ πόλεις φυρμός καὶ σύγχυσις τῶν κατὰ νόμους δικαίων. οἱ γὰρ ἀποστάται τῶν ὑπαίθρων κρατοῦντες ἀνεπίβατον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν χώραν, μνησικακοῦντες τοῖς δεσπόταις, οὐκ ἐμπιπλάμενοι δὲ τῶν ἀνελπίστων εὐτυχημάτων· οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν δοῦλοι νοσοῦντες ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ μετεωριζόμενοι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν φοβερῶτατοι τοῖς κυρίοις ὑπῆρχον.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 314.)

Chap. 12 : see below, after Chap. 10.

7. Ὁ δὲ τὴν Μοργαντίνην πολιορκήσας Σάλουιος, ἐπιδραμών τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ Λεοντίνου πεδίου, ἤθροισεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σύμπαν στράτευμα, ἐπιλέκτους ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν τρισμυρίων, καὶ θύσας τοῖς Παλικοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἤρωσι τούτοις μὲν ἀνέθηκε μίαν τῶν ἀλουργῶν περιπορφύρων στολὴν χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναγορεύσας ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα Τρύφων μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν προσηγορεύετο.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Walton : αὐτοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> So Wesseling : Ἰταλικοῖς.

were dispensing justice and anarchy prevailed, there was irresponsible licence, and men everywhere were wreaking havoc far and wide. Hence every region was filled with violence and rapine, which ran riot and enjoyed full licence to pillage the property of the well-to-do. Men who aforetime had stood first in their cities in reputation and wealth, now through this unexpected turn of fortune were not only losing their property by violence at the hands of the fugitives, but were forced to put up with insolent treatment even from the free born. Consequently they all considered whatever was within the gates scarcely their own, and whatever was without the walls as lost to them and subject only to the lawless rule of force. In general there was turmoil in the cities, and a confounding of all justice under law. For the rebels, supreme in the open country, made the land impassable to travellers, since they were implacable in their hatred for their masters and never got enough of their unexpected good fortune. Meanwhile the slaves in the cities, who were contracting the infection and were poised for revolt, were a source of great fear to their masters.

7. After the siege of Morgantina, Salvius, having overrun the country as far as the plain of Leontini, assembled his whole army there, no fewer than thirty thousand picked men, and after sacrificing to the heroes, the Palici, dedicated to them in thank offering for his victory a robe bordered with a strip of sea-dyed purple.<sup>1</sup> At the same time he proclaimed himself king and was henceforth addressed by the

<sup>1</sup> Presumably a *toga praetexta* or *laticlavica* captured from the Romans.

<sup>2</sup> Τρόφωνα . . . μετὰ . . . προηγάγετο Α.



2 διανοούμενος δὲ τὰ Τριόκαλα καταλαβέσθαι καὶ κατασκευάσαι βασιλεία πέμπει καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηνίωνα, μεταπεμπόμενος αὐτὸν ὡς στρατηγὸν βασιλεὺς. πάντες μὲν οὖν ὑπελάμβανον τὸν Ἀθηνίωνα τῶν πρωτείων ἀντιποιήσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν στάσιν τῶν ἀποστατῶν ῥαδίως καταλυθήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ τύχη καθάπερ ἐπίτηδες αὔξουσα τὰς τῶν δραπετῶν δυνάμεις ὁμονοῆσαι τοὺς τούτων ἡγεμόνας ἐποίησεν. ἦκε μὲν γὰρ συντόμως μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰ Τριόκαλα ὁ Τρύφων, ἦκε δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνίων μετὰ τρισχιλίων, ὑπακούων ὡς στρατηγὸς βασιλεῖ τῷ Τρύφωνι, τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ δύναμιν κατατρέχειν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνασείειν πρὸς ἀποστασιν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀπεσταλκῶς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπονοήσας ὁ Τρύφων τὸν Ἀθηνίωνα ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἐν καιρῷ παρέδωκεν εἰς φυλακὴν. τὸ δὲ φρούριον ὀχυρώτατον ὃν κατεσκεύαζε πολυτελέσι κατα-

3 σκευαῖς καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὠχύρου. Τριόκαλα δὲ αὐτὸ φασιν ὠνομάσθαι διὰ τὸ τρία καλὰ ἔχειν, πρῶτον μὲν ναματιαίων ὑδάτων πλῆθος διαφόρων τῇ γλυκύτητι, δεύτερον παρακειμένην χώραν ἀμπελόφυτον τε καὶ ἐλαιόφυτον καὶ γεωργεῖσθαι δυναμένην θαυμαστῶς, τρίτον ὑπερβάλλουσαν ὀχυρότητα, ὡς ἂν οὔσης μεγάλης πέτρας ἀναλώτου. ἦν καὶ περιβόλῳ πόλεως σταδίων ὀκτὼ προσπεριβαλὼν καὶ ταφρεύσας βαθεῖα τάφρῳ βασιλείοις ἐχρήτο, πάσῃ ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπάντων πεπληρωμένην. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ βασιλικὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἀγορὰν δυναμένην δέξασθαι πλῆθος

rebels as Tryphon.<sup>1</sup> As it was his intention to seize Triocala and build a palace there, he sent to Athenion, summoning him as a king might summon a general. Everyone supposed that Athenion would dispute the primacy with him and that in the resulting strife between the rebels the war would easily be brought to an end. But Fortune, as though intentionally increasing the power of the fugitives, caused their leaders to be of one mind. Tryphon came promptly to Triocala with his army, and thither also came Athenion with three thousand men, obedient to Tryphon as a general is obedient to his king; the rest of his army he had sent out to cover the countryside and rouse the slaves to rebellion. Later on, suspecting that Athenion would attack him, given the opportunity, Tryphon placed him under detention. The fortress, which was already very strong, he equipped with lavish constructions, and strengthened it even more. This place, Triocala,<sup>2</sup> is said to be so named because it possesses three fine advantages: first, an abundance of flowing springs, whose waters are exceptionally sweet; second, an adjacent countryside yielding vines and olives, and wonderfully amenable to cultivation; and third, surpassing strength, for it is a large and impregnable ridge of rock. This place, which he surrounded with a city wall eight stades in length, and with a deep moat, he used as his royal capital, and saw that it was abundantly supplied with all the necessities of life. He constructed also a royal palace, and a market place that could accommodate a large multi-known as Tryphon. So in the First Servile War Eunus had assumed the royal name of Antiochus (Books 34/5. 2. 24).

<sup>2</sup> Triocala is perhaps identical with Camicus, a fortress near Acragas (cp. Book 4. 78) and the modern Caltabellota.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps in imitation of the Syrian usurper Diodotus, 166

4 ἀνθρώπων. ἐξελέξατο δὲ καὶ τῶν φρονήσει δια-  
φρόντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἱκανούς, οὓς ἀποδείξας  
συμβούλους ἐχρήτο συνέδροις αὐτοῖς· τήβεννάν τε  
περιπόρφυρον περιεβάλλετο καὶ πλατύσημον ἔδυ  
χιτῶνα κατὰ τοὺς χρηματισμούς, καὶ ῥαβδούχους  
εἶχε μετὰ πελέκεων τοὺς προηγούμενους, καὶ τάλλα  
πάντα ὅσα ποιούσι τε καὶ ἐπικοσμοῦσι βασιλείαν  
ἐπετήδευε.<sup>1</sup>

8. Προχειρίζεται δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἡ σύγ-  
κλητος τῶν Ῥωμαίων Λεύκιον Λικίνιον Λούκουλ-  
λον, ἔχοντα στρατιώτας μυρίους μὲν καὶ τετρακισ-  
χιλίους Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ἰταλούς, Βιθυνούς δὲ καὶ  
Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας ὀκτακοσίους, ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
Λευκανίας ἑξακοσίους, ὧν ἡγείτο Κλέπτιος, ἀνὴρ  
στρατηγικὸς καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρεία περιβόητος, ἔτι δὲ  
καὶ ἑτέρους ἑξακοσίους, ὡς γενέσθαι σύμπαντας  
ἐπτακισχιλίους<sup>2</sup> καὶ μυρίους, οὓς ἔχων κατέλαβε  
2 τὴν Σικελίαν. ὁ δὲ Τρύφων ἀπολύσας Ἀθηνίωνα  
τῆς αἰτίας ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
πολέμου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἤρρεσκεν ἐν τοῖς Τριοκάλοις  
ἀγωνίζεσθαι, Ἀθηνίων δὲ συνεβούλευε μὴ συγ-  
κλείειν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ  
διαγωνίζεσθαι. κρατήσεως δὲ ταύτης τῆς βουλῆς  
κατεστρατοπέδευσαν πλησίον Σκιρθαίας, ὄντες οὐκ  
ἐλάττους τῶν τετρακισμυρίων· ἀπέχετο δ' αὐτῶν ἡ  
3 Ῥωμαίων παρεμβολὴ στάδια δυοκαίδεκα. τὸ μὲν  
οὖν πρῶτον ἐγίνοντο συνεχεῖς ἀκροβολισμοί· εἰτα  
παραταξαμένων ἐκατέρων καὶ τῆς μάχης ὦδε κἀ-  
κείσε ῥεπούσης καὶ πολλῶν ἐκατέρωθεν πιπτόν-  
των, ὁ μὲν Ἀθηνίων ἔχων<sup>3</sup> συναγωνιζομένους  
διακοσίους ἵππεις, ἐπικρατῶν<sup>4</sup> πάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: ἐπικοσμοῦσιν ἐπετήδευε βασιλείαν.

tude. Moreover, he picked out a sufficient number  
of men endowed with superior intelligence, whom  
he appointed counsellors and employed as his cabinet.  
When holding audience he put on a toga bordered  
in purple and wore a wide-bordered tunic, and had  
lictors with axes to precede him; and in general he  
affected all the trappings that go to make up and  
embellish the dignity of a king.

8. To oppose the rebels the Roman senate assigned <sup>103 B.C.</sup>  
Lucius Licinius Lucullus,<sup>1</sup> with an army of four-  
teen thousand Romans and Italians, eight hundred  
Bithynians, Thessalians, and Acarnanians, six hun-  
dred Lucanians (commanded by Cleptius, a skilled  
general and a man renowned for valour), besides  
six hundred others, for a total of seventeen thou-  
sand<sup>2</sup>: with these forces he occupied Sicily. Now  
Tryphon, having dropped the charges against Athe-  
nion, was making plans for the impending war with  
the Romans. His choice was to fight at Triocala,  
but it was Athenion's advice that they ought not  
to shut themselves up to undergo siege, but should  
fight in the open. This plan prevailed, and they  
encamped near Scirthaea, no fewer than forty  
thousand strong; the Roman camp was at a dis-  
tance of twelve stades. There was constant skirm-  
ishing at first, then the two armies met face to face.  
The battle swayed now this way, now that, with  
many casualties on both sides. Athenion, who had  
a fighting force of two hundred horse, was victorious

<sup>1</sup> He presumably held this appointment as *propraetor* in  
succession to Licinius Nerva.

<sup>2</sup> The figures given add up only to 16,000 (see critical note).

<sup>3</sup> ἑξακισχιλίους Wesseling.

<sup>4</sup> A omits ἔχων.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπικρατῶν A (corr.) B: ἐπιλέκτων *cett.*, Bekker, Dindorf.

τόπον νεκρῶν ἐπλήρωσε, τρωθεὶς δ' εἰς ἀμφοτέρα τὰ γόνατα καὶ τρίτην λαβὼν ἄχρηστος ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν μάχην· ἐξ οὗ οἱ δραπέται ταῖς ψυχαῖς πεσόντες πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνίων ὡς νεκρὸς ὦν ἔλαθε, καὶ προσποιηθεὶς τετελευτηκέναι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης διεσώθη. ἐπεκράτησαν δὲ λαμπρῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, φυγόντων καὶ τῶν μετὰ Τρύφωνος καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου· καὶ πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν κοπέντων τέλος οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δις-μυρίων ἀνῆρέθησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποί, τῆς νυκτὸς συνεργούσης, διέφυγον εἰς τὰ Τριόκαλα· καίτοι ῥάδιον ἦν ἐπιδιώξαντι τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τούτους ἀνελεῖν. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' ἐτεταπεινῶτο<sup>2</sup> τὸ οἰκετικὸν ὥστε καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐπὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐκαναδραμεῖν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρίσαι· πλὴν ἐπεκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη τῶν μέχρι τελευτῆς ὑποθεμένων ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἑαυτοὺς καταπροδοῦναι. μετὰ δ' ἐνάτην ἡμέραν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἦκε πολιορκήσων τὰ Τριόκαλα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀναιρῶν, τὰ δὲ ἀναιρούμενος, ἔλαττον ἔχων ἀπῆλλάγη, καὶ οἱ ἀποστάται αὖθις ἐφρονηματίζοντο. ἦννε δὲ τῶν δεόντων ὁ στρατηγὸς εἴτε διὰ ῥαστώνῃν εἴτε διὰ δωροδοκίαν οὐδέν· ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ δίκην ὕστερον κριθεὶς Ῥωμαίοις ἔδωκε.

9. Γάιος δὲ Σερονίλιος καταπεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς διάδοχος Λουκούλλου οὐδ' αὐτός τι ἄξιον μνήμης ἔπραξε· διὸ καὶ ὁμοίως Λουκούλλῳ ὕστερον φυγῇ κατεδικάσθη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Τρύφωνος, διάδοχος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἀθηνίων καθίσταται, καὶ τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> So Bekker: ῥᾶον.

<sup>2</sup> δ' ἐτεταπεινῶτο Nock: δὲ τεταπεινῶτο.

<sup>1</sup> The praetor is perhaps identical with the augur Servilius

and covered the whole area about him with corpses, but after being wounded in both knees and receiving a third blow as well, he was of no service in fighting, whereupon the runagate slaves lost spirit and were routed. Athenion was taken for dead and so was not detected. By thus feigning death he made good his escape during the coming night. The Romans won a brilliant victory, for Tryphon's army and Tryphon himself turned and fled. Many were cut down in flight, and no fewer than twenty thousand were finally slain. Under cover of night the rest escaped to Triocala, though it would have been an easy matter to dispatch them also if only the praetor had followed in pursuit. The slave party was now so dejected that they even considered returning to their masters and placing themselves in their hands. But it was the sentiment of those who had pledged themselves to fight to the end and not to yield themselves abjectly to the enemy that at last prevailed. On the ninth day following, the praetor arrived to lay siege to Triocala. After inflicting and suffering some casualties he retired worsted, and the rebels once more held their heads high. The praetor, whether through indolence or because he had been bribed, accomplished nothing of what needed doing, and in consequence he was later haled to judgement by the Romans and punished.

9. Gaius Servilius,<sup>1</sup> sent out as praetor to succeed Lucullus, likewise achieved nothing worthy of note. Hence he, like Lucullus, was later condemned and sent into exile. On the death of Tryphon, Athenion succeeded to the command, and, since Servilius did

who successfully prosecuted Lucullus, and was in turn prosecuted by Lucullus' sons (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 1. 1).



μὲν πόλεις ἐπολιόρκει, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς κατέτρεχε καὶ πολλῶν ἐκυρίευσε, τοῦ Σερουιλίου μηδὲν ἀντιπράττοντος.

(Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 389-390.)

- 2 \*Οτι Λούκουλος ὁ στρατηγὸς πυθόμενος διαβεβηκέναι τὸν πορθμὸν Σερουίλιον Γάιον στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τοῦ πολέμου, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἀπέλυσε καὶ τοὺς χάρακας καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς ἐνέπρησε, βουλόμενος τὸν διαδεχόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἀξιόλογον ἀφορμὴν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. βλασφημούμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον αὔξειν ὑπελάμβανε τῇ τούτου ταπεινώσει καὶ ἀδοξία καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ<sup>1</sup> κατηγορίαν καταλύειν.<sup>2</sup>

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 392-393.)

10. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διελθόντος ὕπατος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Γάιος Μάριος ἤρέθη τὸ πέμπτον καὶ Γάιος Ἀκύλλιος· ὧν ὁ Ἀκύλλιος στρατηγὸς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστατῶν σταλὲς διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδρείας ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ τοὺς ἀποστάτας ἐνίκησε. καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἀποστατῶν Ἀθηνίωνα συμβαλὼν ἥρωικόν ἀγῶνα συνεστήσατο, καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἀνείλεν, αὐτὸς δ' εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρωθεὶς ἐθεραπεύθη. καὶ στρατεύει ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἀποστατῶν, ὄντας μυρίους. οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ ὀχυρώματα καταφυγόντων, ὅμως Ἀκύλλιος οὐκ ἐνεδίδου πάντα πράττων  
2 ἕως αὐτοὺς ἐκπολιορκήσας ἐχειρώσατο. ἔτι δ' ὑπολειπομένων χιλίων καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔχόντων τὸν Σάτυρον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλετο διὰ τῶν ὄπλων αὐτοὺς χειρώσασθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαπρεσβερόν-

<sup>1</sup> So Herwerden : τούτου V.

<sup>2</sup> Mai, Dindorf read καταλύσειν.

nothing to hinder him, he laid cities under siege, overran the country with impunity, and brought many places under his sway.

The praetor Lucullus, on learning that Gaius Servilius, the praetor appointed to succeed him in the war, had crossed the Strait, disbanded his army, and set fire to the camp and the constructions, for he did not wish his successor in the command to have any significant resources for waging war. Since he himself was being denounced for his supposed desire to enlarge the scope of the war, he assumed that by ensuring the humiliation and disgrace of his successor he was also dispelling the charge brought against himself.

10. At the end of the year Gaius Marius was <sup>101/0 B.C.</sup> elected consul at Rome for the fifth time, with Gaius Aquillius<sup>1</sup> as his colleague. It was Aquillius who was sent against the rebels, and by his personal valour won a resounding victory over them. Meeting Athenion, the king of the rebels, face to face, he put up an heroic struggle; he slew Athenion, and was himself wounded in the head but recovered after treatment. Then he continued the campaign against the surviving rebels, who now numbered ten thousand. When they did not abide his approach, but sought refuge in their strongholds, Aquillius unrelentingly employed every means till he had captured their forts and mastered them. But a thousand were still left, with Satyrus at their head. Aquillius at first intended to subdue them by force of arms, but when later, after an exchange of envoys,

<sup>1</sup> Marius' fifth consulship was in 101 B.C. His colleague, who continued in Sicily as proconsul in 100 B.C., was Manius (not Gaius) Aquillius.

των καὶ παραδόντων ἑαυτοὺς τῆς μὲν παραντίκα τιμωρίας ἀπέλυσεν, ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην 3 θηριομάχας αὐτοὺς ἐποίησε. τοὺς δὲ φασὶ τινες ἐπιφανεστάτην ποιήσασθαι τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μάχης ἀποστήναι, ἀλλήλους δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων βωμῶν κατασφάζειν, καὶ τὸν τελευταῖον αὐτὸν τὸν Σάτυρον ἀνελόντα· τοῦτον δὲ<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἡρωικῶς καταστρέψαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Σικελίαν τῶν οἰκετῶν πόλεμος, διαμείνας ἔτη σχεδὸν πρὸς τέτταρα, τραγικὴν ἔσχε τὴν καταστροφὴν. (Photius, *Bibl.* p. 390.)

Chap. 11 : see above, after Chap. 6.

12. "Ὅτι Σατορνίνος ὁ δῆμαρχος<sup>2</sup> ζηλώσας βίον ἀκόλαστον καὶ ταμίας ὑπάρχων εἰς τὴν ἐξ Ὠστίας εἰς Ῥώμην τοῦ οἴτου παρακομιδὴν ἐτάχθη, διὰ δὲ τὴν ῥαθυμίαν καὶ φανulότητα τῆς ἀγωγῆς δόξας κακῶς προεστάναι τῆς προειρημένης ἐπιμελείας ἐπιτιμῆσεως ἔτυχε προσηκούσης. ἡ γὰρ<sup>3</sup> σύγκλητος παρελομένη<sup>4</sup> τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρέδωκεν ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπιστάσιν ταύτην. διορθωσάμενος δὲ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τοῦ σώφρονος ἀντεχόμενος<sup>5</sup> βίου δημαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατηξιώθη. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp. 314-315.)

13. "Ὅτι Βαττάκης τις ὄνομα ἦκε, φησιν, ἐκ Πεσσινούντος<sup>6</sup> τῆς Φρυγίας, ἱερεὺς ὑπάρχων τῆς μεγάλης τῶν θεῶν μητρος. οὗτος κατὰ πρόσταγμα τῆς θεοῦ παρῆναι φήσας τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐνέτυχε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Hutton : δ'.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius : ὑπατος P.

<sup>3</sup> So Herwerden : δὲ P. <sup>4</sup> So Valesius : παρεχομένη P.

<sup>5</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius : ἀντεχομένου P.

<sup>6</sup> Πισ(σ)ινούντος MSS.

<sup>1</sup> L. Appuleius Saturninus was quaestor in 104 B.C. and

they surrendered, he released them from immediate punishment and took them to Rome to do combat with wild beasts. There, as some report, they brought their lives to a most glorious end ; for they avoided combat with the beasts and cut one another down at the public altars, Satyrus himself slaying the last man. Then he, as the final survivor, died heroically by his own hand. Such was the dramatic conclusion of the Sicilian Slave War, a war that lasted about four years.

12. Saturninus the tribune,<sup>1</sup> who was a man of 104/3 B.C. licentious pursuits, had as quaestor been charged with the transport of grain from Ostia to Rome, but since his idle and frivolous behaviour encouraged the judgement that he had not been a success as director of the operation, he was duly rebuked. The senate, in fact, stripped him of his authority and transferred his charge to others.<sup>2</sup> But once he had corrected his former loose habits and adopted a sober manner of life, he was raised by the people to the tribunate.

13. A certain man named Battaces, a priest of 102 B.C. the Great Mother of the Gods, arrived, says Diodorus, from Pessinus<sup>3</sup> in Phrygia. Claiming that he had come by command of the goddess, he obtained an audience with the consuls and with the senate, in

*tribunus plebis* in 103 and again in 100 B.C.—While the present chapter could, with chap. 11, have been transferred to its proper chronological position earlier in the book, it seemed better to retain Dindorf's arrangement of this and the few remaining chapters, rather than to interrupt the continuous narrative of the Servile War.

<sup>2</sup> Actually, to M. Aemilius Scaurus, the *princeps senatus*.

<sup>3</sup> Pessinus was the chief sanctuary of Cybelê, the Magna Mater. Another version of the story is given in Plutarch, *Marius*, 17. 5-6. Battaces is apparently a priestly title, like Attis, not a proper name : cp. Polybius, 21. 37. 5.

τῇ συγκλήτῳ, λέγων τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς θεοῦ μεμῖανθαι, καὶ δεῖν αὐτῇ<sup>1</sup> δημοσίᾳ καθαρμούς ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης συντελεσθῆναι. ἐφόρει δὲ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐθῶν<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἐπιχωρουμένην<sup>3</sup>. χρυσοῦν τε γὰρ στέφανον εἶχεν ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ στολὴν ἀνθήνην διάχρυσον, βασιλικὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιφαίνουσαν.

2 ποιησάμενος δὲ λόγους ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐμβαλὼν, καταλύματος μὲν δημοσίου καὶ ξενίων ἡξιώθη, τὸν δὲ στέφανον ἐκωλύθη φορεῖν ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν δημάρχων Αὔλου Πομπηίου. διὰ τίνος δ' ἐτέρου δημάρχου προαχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰς<sup>4</sup> τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγνείας ἐπερωτώμενος ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιεῖτο δεισιδαιμονίαν περιεχούσας. καταστασιασθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἀπαλλαγείς ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν οὐκέτι προεπορεύετο, λέγων μὴ μόνον ἐ-  
αυτὸν ἀσεβῶς προπετηλακίσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θεόν.

3 ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος παραχρῆμα μὲν λάβρῳ πυρετῷ συν-  
εσχέθη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄφρων γενόμενος καὶ κατα-  
ληφθεὶς κυναγικῶ πάθει τριταῖος κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑποληφθεὶς θείᾳ τινὶ προ-  
νοίᾳ ἀνθ' ὧν εἰς τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐπλημμέ-  
λησεν τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερηθῆναι· σφόδρα γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι δεισιδαιμονοῦσι. διόπερ ὁ Βαττάκης λαβὼν τὴν συγχώρησιν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν κατα-  
σκευῆς καὶ τιμηθεὶς ἀξιολόγοις ξενίοις ὑπὸ πολλῶν

which he stated that the temple<sup>1</sup> of the goddess had been defiled and that rites of purification to her must be performed at Rome in the name of the state. The robe he wore, like the rest of his costume, was outlandish and by Roman standards not to be countenanced, for he had on an immense golden crown and a gaudy cape shot with gold, the marks of royal rank. After addressing the populace from the rostra, and creating in the crowd a mood of religious awe, he was granted lodging and hospitality at the expense of the state, but was forbidden by one of the tribunes, Aulus Pompeius, to wear his crown. Brought back to the rostra by another of the tribunes, and questioned as to what ritual purity for the temple required, he couched his answers in words evocative of holy dread. When he was there-upon attacked in a partisan spirit by Pompeius, and was contemptuously sent back to his lodgings, he refused to appear again in public, saying that not only he, but the goddess as well, had been impiously treated with disrespect. Pompeius was straightway smitten with a raging fever, then lost his voice and was stricken with quinsy, and on the third day died. To the man in the street it seemed that his death was an act of Divine Providence in requital for his offences against the goddess and her priest, for the Romans are very prone to fear in matters of religion. Accordingly Battaces was granted a special dispensation in regard to his costume and the sacred robe, was honoured with notable gifts, and when he

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly "sacred object," perhaps with reference to the cult stone representing the goddess, which had been brought from Pessinus in 204 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> So Reiske: ἐπιχωρημένην.

<sup>4</sup> A omits εἰς.

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: αὐτοὺς MSS., αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ ἱεροῦ) Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> So Scaliger: ἐθνῶν.



ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν προεπέμφθη τὴν ἐκ τῆς  
Ῥώμης ἐπάνοδον ποιούμενος.

14. Ὅτι ἔθος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώταις,  
ἡνίκα ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς μάχῃ πρὸς  
τινας τῶν πολεμίων συμπλακείν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξα-  
κισχιλίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐφαίνετο ἀνελών, ἱμπε-  
ράτορα αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύειν καὶ ἀποκαλεῖν, ὃ ἔστι  
βασιλέα. (Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 390-391.)

15. Ὅτι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦκον πρεσβευταὶ Μιθρι-  
δάτου τοῦ βασιλέως κομίζοντες μεθ' αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> χρη-  
μάτων πλήθος πρὸς τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου δωροδοκίαν.  
ὁ δὲ Σατορνίνος δόξας ἀφορμὴν ἔχειν κατὰ τῆς  
συγκλήτου μεγάλης ὕβριν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ ἐνεδείξατο.  
καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν παροξυνάντων τοὺς πρεσ-  
βευτὰς καὶ συνεργήσιν ἐπαγγελλομένων, οἱ καθ-  
υβρισθέντες ἐπήνεγκαν κρίσιν τῷ Σατορνίνῳ περὶ  
<sup>2</sup> τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως. τοῦ δὲ ἀγώνος ὄντος  
δημοσίου καὶ μεγάλου διὰ τὴν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν  
ἀσυλίαν καὶ τὴν συνήθη παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις<sup>3</sup> ὑπὲρ<sup>4</sup>  
τῶν πρεσβειῶν μισοπονηρίαν· ὁ δὲ Σατορνίνος  
θανάτου κατηγορούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν συγκλητικῶν,  
ὡς ἂν ἐκείνων δικαζόντων τὰς τοιαύτας κρίσεις, εἰς  
τοὺς μεγίστους ἐνέπεσε φόβους τε καὶ κινδύνους,  
καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ὑποκειμένων<sup>4</sup> ἀγώνων  
πτύξας κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἀκληροῦντων  
ἔλεον, καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν πολυτελεῖ κατέθετο,

<sup>1</sup> μεθ' αὐτῶν Dindorf: μετ' αὐτῶν O.

<sup>2</sup> παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Suidas, s.v. ἀσυλον ἱερόν.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπὲρ Suidas, loc. cit.: πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ O.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπικειμένων Herwerden.

<sup>1</sup> According to Valerius Maximus (2. 8. 1), there was a law stipulating that no one could obtain a triumph unless  
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started homeward from Rome was escorted on his way by a large crowd, both men and women.

14. The Roman soldiers had a custom that when a general of theirs who with them joined battle against an enemy had slain six thousand of the foe, they hailed and acclaimed him imperator,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, "king."

15. Envoys of King Mithridates<sup>2</sup> arrived in Rome, 101 B.C. bringing with them a large sum of money with which to bribe the senate. Saturninus, thinking that this gave him a point of attack on the senate, behaved with great insolence towards the embassy. At the instigation of the senators, who promised to lend their support, the outraged envoys preferred charges against Saturninus for his insulting treatment. The trial, held in public, was of great import because of the inviolability attaching to ambassadors and the Romans' habitual detestation of any wrongdoing where embassies were concerned; it was therefore a capital charge of which Saturninus stood accused, and since his prosecutors were men of senatorial rank, and it was the senate that judged such cases, he was thrown into great fear and great danger. Alarmed by the serious nature of the issues at stake, he had recourse to pity, the common refuge of the unfortunate: laying aside his costly attire he donned

5,000 of the enemy had been slain in a single action; Orosius (5. 4. 7) cites the law as in effect in 143 B.C. Cp. also Dio Cassius, 37. 40.—Since the arrangement of the fragments in Photius is not a reliable index of their order, it is possible that the present passage refers to M'. Aquilius, who for his victory over the Sicilian slaves in 100 B.C. was acclaimed imperator.—The final clause of the passage is certainly Byzantine, and not part of the text of Diodorus.

<sup>2</sup> Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysus, king of Pontus 121/0-63 B.C. and the archfoe of Rome.

πιναρὰν δὲ μεταμφιασάμενος καὶ κόμην<sup>1</sup> καὶ πώγωνα τρέφων περιήει<sup>2</sup> τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλους, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τὰ γόνατα πίπτων, τοῖς δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφύόμενος ἔδεϊτο καὶ μετὰ δακρῦν καθεύκετε<sup>3</sup> βοηθῆσαι τοῖς ἀκληρήμασιν· καταστασιάζεσθαι γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀπεφαίνετο παρὰ πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον ὑπὸ<sup>4</sup> τῆς συγκλήτου, καὶ τοῦτο πάσχειν ἑαυτὸν ἀπεδείκνυε διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίαν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἐχθροὺς τε καὶ κατηγόρους καὶ κριτάς. τοῦ δὲ δήμου συνεξαίρομενον ταῖς δεήσεσιν, πολλὰι μυριάδες συνέδραμον ἐπὶ τὸ κριτήριον, καὶ παραδόξως ἀπελύθη. καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχων τὸν δῆμον πάλιν ἀνερρήθη δήμαρχος. (*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 408-409.)

16. Ὅτι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Μετέλλου φυγῆς ἐπ' ἔτη δὺν γινομένων λόγων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὃ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ κόμην ὑποτρέφων καὶ πώγωνα καὶ πιναρὰν ἔχων ἐσθῆτα περιήει κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, δεόμενος τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μετὰ δακρῦν προσπίπτων τοῖς ἐκάστου γόνασιν ἤτειτο τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κάθοδον. ὃ μὲν οὖν δῆμος, καίπερ οὐ βουλόμενος ἀφορμὴν διδόναι τοῖς φυγάσι τῆς καθόδου παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, ὁμως διὰ τὸν ἔλεον τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γονέως σπουδὴν κατήγαγε τὸν Μέτελλον, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν<sup>4</sup> περὶ τὸν γεννήσαντα γεγενεμένην φιλοτιμίαν Εὐσεβῇ προσηγόρευσεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 315).

<sup>1</sup> So Toup (cp. chap. 16) : κοινὴν Ο.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς after περιήει deleted by Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ Suidas, s.v. καταστασιάζεσθαι : ἀπὸ Ο.

<sup>4</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius : τὸν Ρ.

instead a shabby garb, and letting his hair and beard grow, canvassed the urban proletariat; falling at the knees of some, and grasping others by the hands, he begged and besought them with tears to aid him in his distress. He told them that he was being made a victim of the senate's partisanship in violation of all justice, and pointed out that it was because of his concern for the common people that he was being treated in this way, and that, moreover, his enemies were at one and the same time his accusers and his judges. The populace, aroused to a man by his prayers, massed many thousands strong at the place of judgement, and he was unexpectedly acquitted. Having the support of the people, he was again proclaimed tribune.

16. For two years the exile of Metellus<sup>1</sup> was discussed in the public assemblies. His son, letting his hair and beard grow and wearing a shabby garb, went about the Forum beseeching the citizens, and falling at their knees in tears begged them one by one to grant his father's return. The people, though unwilling to give the exiles a foothold that would enable them to return in violation of the laws, nevertheless through pity for the young man and because of his zeal in his father's cause recalled Metellus, and gave the son, in tribute to his devotion to the cause of his sire, the cognomen Pius.

<sup>1</sup> Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, who as censor in 102 B.C. incurred the enmity of Saturninus and was interdicted from fire and water by Marius in 100 B.C. The son, Metellus Pius, became consul in 80 B.C.

# FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXVII

1. 'Αφ' ὧν χρόνων αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις διὰ τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἀναγραφῆς εἰς αἰώνιον μνήμην παρεδόθησαν, μέγιστον ἴσμεν πόλεμον τὸν Μαρσικὸν ὀνομασθέντα ἀπὸ Μαρσῶν. οὗτος γὰρ πάντας τοὺς προγεγονότας ὑπερεβάλετο ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνδραγαθίαις καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων. τὸν γὰρ Τρωικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς τῶν ἡρώων ἀρετὰς ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος τῶν ποιητῶν Ὅμηρος εἰς ὑπερβολὴν δόξης ἐτραγώδησεν· ἐν ᾧ τῆς Εὐρώπης πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαπολεμούσης καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἡπείρων ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης διαφιλοτιμουμένων, τοιαῦται πράξεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων συνετελέσθησαν ὥστε τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις ἀνθρώποις ἐμπλησθῆναι τὰ θέατρα <sup>2</sup> μυθικῶν καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγωνισμάτων. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐν<sup>1</sup> ἔτεσι δέκα τὰς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι πόλεις κατεπολέμησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοῖς<sup>3</sup> ὕστερον χρόνοις μὴ παρατάξει νικήσαντες Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν τῆς Ἀσίας κύριοι κατέστησαν. μετὰ δὲ τὰ Τρωικὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἀναξηραινομένων τῶν ἀενάων ποταμῶν, ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγικὴ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν added by Herwerden.

# FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXVII

1. In all the time that men's deeds have been <sup>91 B.C.</sup> handed down by recorded history to the memory of posterity the greatest war known to us is the "Marsic," so named after the Marsi.<sup>1</sup> This war surpassed all that preceded it both in the valorous exploits of its leaders and in the magnitude of its operations. The Trojan War, to be sure, and the merits of its heroes were so dramatically depicted by the most renowned of poets, Homer, that their glory is supreme; and since in that war Europe and Asia were locked in battle and the greatest continents were contending for victory, the exploits of the combatants were such that for all succeeding generations the dramatic stage has been filled with the tragic stories of their various ordeals. Nevertheless, those heroes were ten years in subjugating the cities of the Troad, whereas the Romans of a later age conquered Antiochus the Great in a single engagement and emerged the masters of all Asia. After the Trojan War the king of Persia led an army against Greece, and so vast a host accompanied him that even perennial streams were dried up. Yet the

<sup>1</sup> The war is generally known to-day as the "Social War," a designation that first appears in the second century A.D. The Marsic and Samnite peoples formed the hard core of the rebellion.

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς added by Dindorf, ἐν τοῖς Hertlein.



σύνεσις μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρετῆς τοὺς Πέρ-  
 3 σας κατεπολέμησεν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς  
 Καρχηδονίων τριάκοντα μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίαν  
 στρατευσάντων, Γέλων ὁ Συρακουσίων ἀφηγού-  
 μενος ἐνὶ στρατηγῇ καὶ ἀκαρεῖ χρόνῳ διακόσιας  
 ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ δεκαπέντε μυριάδας πολεμίων  
 ἐν παρατάξει κατακόψας τὰς ἴσας ἐξώγησεν. ἀλλ'  
 ὅμως οἱ τὸν Μαρσικὸν πόλεμον διαπολεμήσαντες  
 Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀπογόνους τῶν τὰς τηλικαύτας  
 4 πράξεις ἐπιτελεσαμένων κατεπολέμησαν. ἐξῆς δὲ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα ὑπερβαλλούσῃ συνέσει  
 καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καταπολε-  
 μήσαντος, Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους<sup>1</sup> καιροὺς  
 δορίκτητον ἐποίησαντο τὴν Μακεδονίαν. Καρχη-  
 δὼν δὲ περὶ τῆς Σικελίας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι  
 πολεμήσασα τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας  
 ἀγωνισαμένη παρατάξεις καὶ ναυμαχίας,<sup>2</sup> τότε μὲν  
 τῷ βάρει τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κατεπο-  
 λεμήθη, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τὸν Ἀννιβιακὸν κληθέντα  
 πόλεμον συστησαμένη παρατάξει καὶ ναυμαχίαις  
 καὶ πολλαῖς περιβοήτοις πράξεσι νικήσασα, στρα-  
 τηγὸν ἔχουσα πρωτεύοντα κατ' ἀρετὴν Ἀννίβαν,  
 τελευταῖον ὑπὸ τε τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 Ἰταλῶν ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς Σικιπίωνος ἀρετῆς  
 5 κατεπολεμήθη. Κίμβρους δὲ ταῖς<sup>3</sup> μὲν ὄψεσι γίγασσι  
 παρεμφερεῖς, ταῖς δὲ ἀλκαῖς ἀνυπερβλήτους . . .  
 οὗτοι γὰρ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις  
 κατακόψαντες καὶ μυριάσι τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ἐπὶ

military genius of Themistocles and the valour of  
 the Greeks brought down those Persians in defeat.  
 At about the same time the Carthaginians conducted  
 an army of three hundred thousand men against  
 Sicily. But by a single stratagem Gelon the Syra-  
 cusan commander set fire in a moment to two hundred  
 ships, and cutting to pieces in pitched battle one  
 hundred and fifty thousand of the enemy took as  
 many more captive. Nevertheless, the descendants  
 of those who did these mighty deeds were defeated  
 by the people who fought the Marsic War, the  
 Romans. Next in order comes Alexander of Mace-  
 don, whose surpassing genius and courage enabled  
 him to overthrow the Persian Empire; yet in more  
 recent times Roman arms took Macedonia itself  
 captive. Carthage waged war with Rome over Sicily  
 for four and twenty years, but after numerous mighty  
 battles fought on land and sea was at last beaten  
 back by the weight of Rome's military power. Soon  
 after, however, Carthage set afoot the so-called  
 Hannibalic War, and since her general was Hannibal,  
 a man of the very highest ability, she was victorious  
 on land and sea and won wide acclaim for her many  
 achievements, only at the end to be brought down  
 in defeat by the prowess of the Romans and Italians  
 and the valour of Scipio. The Cimbri, giantlike in  
 appearance and unexcelled in feats of strength . . .  
 for though they had cut to pieces many large Roman  
 armies and had four hundred thousand men<sup>1</sup> poised

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Marius*, 11. 2, gives the figure as 300,000.

<sup>2</sup> So Herwerden: νεωτερικῶς V.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf<sup>4</sup>: ναυμαχήσασα V (?). Boissvain ascribes  
 the correction to Herwerden, referring it to ναυμαχίας, below.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: τοὺς V.

Ἰταλίαν στρατείαν στειλάμενοι, ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνδραγαθίαις ἄρδην κατεκόπησαν.

6 Διὸ τοῦ πρωτείου κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίας ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων κριθέντος ὑπάρχειν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦσιν ἔθνεσιν, ἡ τύχη καθάπερ ἐπίτηδες τούτους εἰς διάστασιν ἀγαγοῦσα τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα τῷ μεγέθει πόλεμον ἐξέκαυσεν. ἐπαναστάντων γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθνῶν τῇ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀρίστων κεκριμένων ἐλλόντων εἰς ἔριν<sup>1</sup> καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, ὁ γενόμενος πόλεμος εἰς ὑπερβολὴν μεγέθους κατήνησεν, ὃς ὠνομάσθη Μαρσικὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν γενομένων τῆς ἀποστάσεως Μαρσῶν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 393-394.)

2. Ὅτι τὸν Μαρσικὸν ὠνομασθέντα πόλεμον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> ἡλικίας Διόδωρος μεῖζονα πάντων τῶν προγεγονότων ἀποφαίνεται. ὠνομάσθαι δέ φησι Μαρσικὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀρξάντων τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἐπεὶ σύμπαντες γε Ἰταλοὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκαν τὸν πόλεμον. αἰτίαν δὲ πρώτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ μεταπεσεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπὸ τῆς εὐτάκτου καὶ λιτῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ ἐγκρατοῦς, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ηὔξηθησαν, εἰς ὀλέθριον ζῆλον<sup>2</sup> τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς διαφθορᾶς ταύτης στασιάσαντος τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, εἴτα ἐκείνης ἐπικαλεσαμένης τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπικουρῆσαι καὶ ὑποσχομένης τῆς πολυεράστου Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας μεταδοῦναι καὶ νόμῳ κυρῶσαι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπεσχημένων τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐγένετο, ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐξεκαύθη, ὑπατεούντων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Λευκίου

for an attack on Italy, they were utterly cut to pieces by the valorous Romans.

Since, therefore, on the basis of actual results, the palm for manly valour in war was awarded to the Romans and to the peoples who inhabit Italy, Fortune as if of set purpose put these two at variance and set ablaze the war that surpassed all in magnitude. Indeed when the nations of Italy revolted against Rome's domination, and those who from time immemorial had been accounted the bravest of men fell into discord and contention, the war that ensued reached the very summit of magnitude. And since the Marsi took the lead in the revolt, it was called the Marsic War.

2. Diodorus declares that the so-called Marsic War, which fell in his lifetime, was greater than any war in the past. He says that it was called Marsic after those who led the revolt, for certainly it was the united Italians who went to war against Rome. The primary cause of the war, he says, was this, that the Romans abandoned the disciplined, frugal, and stern manner of life that had brought them to such greatness, and fell into the pernicious pursuit of luxury and licence. The *plebs* and senate being at odds as a result of this deterioration, the latter called on the Italians to support them, promising to admit them to the much coveted Roman citizenship, and to confirm the grant by law<sup>1</sup>; but when none of the promises made to the Italians was realized, war flared up between them and the Romans. This occurred when Lucius Marcus

<sup>1</sup> Specifically, this may refer to the abortive proposals of the tribune Drusus, in 91 B.C., to extend the citizenship.

<sup>1</sup> So Herwerden: αἴρεσιν V.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς A.

- Μαρκίου<sup>1</sup> Φιλίππου καὶ Σέξτου Ἰουλίου<sup>2</sup> ὀλυμπιάς δ' ἤχθη δευτέρα<sup>3</sup> πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα.  
<sup>3</sup> ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ποικίλα καὶ πολύτροπα πάθη καὶ πόλεων ἁλώσεις ἑκατέρῳ μέρει τῶν διαπολεμισάντων συνέβη, ταλαντευομένης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες παρὰ μέρος τῆς νίκης καὶ μηδετέροις ἐν βεβαίῳ διαμενούσης· ὁμῶς ἀπείρου πλήθους ἑκατέρωθεν πεσόντος ὅψε καὶ μόλις Ῥωμαίοις ἐξενίκησε βεβαιωθῆναι τὸ κράτος.  
<sup>4</sup> Ἐπολέμουν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις Σαννῖται, Ἀσκολανοί, Λευκανοί, Πικεντῖνοι, Νωλανοί, καὶ ἕτεροι πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη· ἐν οἷς ἐπισημοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη καὶ κοινὴ πόλις ἄρτι συντετελεσμένη τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις τὸ Κορφίνιον ἦν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ ἀρχὴν κρατύνουσι συνεστήσαντο καὶ ἀγορὰν εὐμεγέθη καὶ βουλευτήριον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀφθόνως ἅπαντα καὶ χρημάτων πλήθος,  
<sup>5</sup> καὶ τροφῆς δαψιλῇ χορηγίαν. συνεστήσαντο δὲ καὶ σύγκλητον κοινὴν<sup>4</sup> πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ τε τῆς πατρίδος ἄρχειν ἄξιοι προαχθῆσθαι ἐμέλλον καὶ οἱ προβουλευέσθαι δυνάμενοι περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ τούτοις ἐπέτρεψαν<sup>4</sup> τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον διοικεῖν, αὐτοκράτορας ποιήσαντες τοὺς συνέδρους. οὗτοι δ' ἐνομοθέτησαν δύο μὲν ὑπάτους κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν αἰρεῖσθαι, δώδεκα δὲ στρατηγούς.  
<sup>6</sup> Καὶ κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ μὲν Κόιντος Πομ-

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: Μάρκον. <sup>2</sup> δευτέρα added by Scaliger.

<sup>3</sup> So Bekker: καυτή. <sup>4</sup> ἐπιτρέψαντες A.

<sup>1</sup> L. Marcius Philippus and Sex. Julius Caesar were the consuls of 91 B.C. The unemended text of Photius gives the date as the 170th Olympiad.

Philippus and Sextus Iulius<sup>1</sup> were consuls at Rome, in the course of the one hundred and seventy-second Olympiad. In this conflict all sorts and manner of sufferings, including the storming of cities, severally befell the two parties in the war, since Victory tipped the scales in turn now this way, now that, as if of set purpose, and remained securely in the possession of neither, though after innumerable casualties on either side it was belatedly and with difficulty brought about that Rome's power was firmly established.

Engaged in the war with the Romans were the Samnites, the people of Asculum, the Lucanians, the Picentines, the people of Nola, and other cities and nations. Their most notable and important city was Corfinium,<sup>2</sup> recently established as federal capital of the Italians, and there they had set up, among other symbols of political and imperial might, a spacious forum and council hall, abundant store of money and other supplies of war, and a plentiful supply of food. They also set up a joint senate of five hundred members, from whose number men worthy to rule the country and capable of providing for the common safety were to be selected for promotion.<sup>3</sup> To them they entrusted the conduct of the war, giving the senators full power to act. The latter accordingly ordained that two consuls should be chosen annually, and twelve praetors.

The men installed as consuls were Quintus Pom-

<sup>2</sup> Corfinium was the chief city of the Paeligni: cp. Strabo, 5. 4. 2, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> This may refer to an inner council or simply to the consuls and generals (praetors). On the debated question of the League's organization see T. Frank, *C.J.* 14 (1918/19), 547 ff., and R. Gardner in *Cam. Anc. Hist.* 9. 186 ff.



παίδιος Σίλων, Μάρσος μὲν τὸ γένος, πρωτεύων δὲ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν, καὶ δεύτερος ἐκ τοῦ Σαυνιτῶν γένους Γάιος Ἀπώνιος<sup>1</sup> Μότυλος, καὶ αὐτὸς δόξη καὶ πράξεσι τοῦ ἔθνους προέχων. τὴν δ' ὅλην Ἰταλίαν εἰς δύο μέρη διελόντες ὑπατικὰς ἐπαρχίας<sup>7</sup> ταύτας καὶ μερίδας ἀπέδειξαν. καὶ τῷ μὲν Πομπαιδίῳ προσώρισαν χώραν ἀπὸ τῶν Κερκώλων καλουμένων μέχρι τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς θαλάσσης, τὰ πρὸς δυσμὰς καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον νεύοντα μέρη, καὶ στρατηγούς ἔταξαν<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ ἑξ. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας, τὴν πρὸς ἑὼ καὶ μεσημβρίαν νεύουσαν, προσώρισαν Γαίῳ Μοτύλῳ, στρατηγούς ὁμοίως συζεύξαντες ἑξ. οὕτω πάντα δεξιῶς καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν, τὸ σύνολον φάναι, τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τάξεως τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν διαθέμενοι, κατὰ τὸ σφοδρότερον λοιπὸν εἶχοντο καὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς πολέμου, τὴν κοινὴν πόλιν Ἰταλίαν ἐπονομάσαντες.

<sup>8</sup> Καὶ διεπολέμησαν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ τὸ ἐπικρατέστερον, ἕως Γναίος Πομπήιος ὕπατος αἰρεθεὶς καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πολέμου καὶ Σύλλας στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ὑπάτῳ Κάτωνι ἐπιφανεστάταις μάχαις τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις νικῆσαντες τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ συντρίβεσθαι περιέστησαν. ἐπολέμησαν δ' οὖν καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἔτι· ἀλλὰ Γαίου Κοσκονίου σταλέντος εἰς<sup>9</sup> Ἰαπυγίαν στρατηγοῦ πολλάκις ἡττήθησαν. εἶτα

<sup>1</sup> Πάπιος Voss.    <sup>2</sup> ὑπέταξαν Herwerden.    <sup>3</sup> καὶ οὐκ Α.

<sup>1</sup> From other sources it would appear that his name was properly C. Papius Mutilus.

<sup>2</sup> The name Cercola (or Cercoli) is unknown but must refer to some natural boundary between the Marsic and Samnite territories.

paedius Silo, a Marsian by birth and first of his nation, and secondly, of Samnite blood, Gaius Aponius Motylus,<sup>1</sup> likewise a man of outstanding reputation and achievements in his nation. Dividing all Italy into two parts, they designated these as consular provinces and districts. To Pompaedius they assigned the region from what is known as the Cercola<sup>2</sup> to the Adriatic sea, that is, the section to the northwest, and subordinated six praetors to him; the rest of Italy, to the southeast, they assigned to Gaius Motylus, providing him likewise with six praetors. When they had so ably disposed their affairs and had organized a government, which for the most part copied the time-honoured Roman pattern, they devoted themselves henceforth to the energetic prosecution of the war, having given their federal city the new name Italia.<sup>3</sup>

Their struggle with the Romans went, for the<sup>89 B.C.</sup> most part, to their advantage up to the time when Gnaeus Pompeius was elected consul and took command of the war, and he, together with Sulla, legate under the other consul Cato,<sup>4</sup> won notable victories, not once but repeatedly, over the Italians, and shattered their cause to bits. Yet still they fought on. But after Gaius Cosconius<sup>5</sup> was sent to take command in Iapygia they were defeated again and again. Thereupon, reduced in strength and left a

<sup>3</sup> Other sources give the name as Italica.

<sup>4</sup> The consuls for 89 B.C. were Cn. Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, and L. Porcius Cato. L. Cornelius Sulla, the future dictator, won election as consul for the following year on the strength of his victories. He had been legate in 90 B.C. as well.

<sup>5</sup> Appian, *B.C.* 1. 52, calls C. Cosconius *στρατηγός*, but Broughton lists him as a legate rather than praetor in 89 B.C. (*Magistrates*, 2. 36).

ἐλαττωθέντες καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι καταλειφθέντες κοινῇ γνώμῃ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκλείπουσι πόλιν, τὸ Κορφίνιον, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Μάρσους καὶ πάντα τὰ γειτνιῶντα τῶν ἐθνῶν προσκεχωρηκέναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐν Σαυνίταις Αἰσερνίαν καθιδρύνθησαν, πέντε στρατηγούς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσαντες, ὧν ἐνὶ μάλιστα Κοῖντῳ Πομπαιδίῳ Σίλωνι τὴν πάντων ἡγεμονίαν ἐπίστευσαν διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ στρατηγεῖν ἀρετὴν τε καὶ δόξαν. οὗτος δὲ μετὰ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν στρατηγῶν γνώμης κατεσκεύασε μεγάλην δύναμιν, ὥς τοὺς σύμπαντας μετὰ τῶν  
 10 προϋπαρχόντων περὶ τρισμυρίους γενέσθαι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοὺς δούλους ἐλευθερώσας καὶ ὥς ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου καθοπλίσας συνήγεν οὐ πολὺ λείποντας τῶν δισμυρίων,<sup>1</sup> ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους. συμβαλὼν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις, Μαμέρκου στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν, Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἀναιρεῖ ὀλίγους, τῶν δ' οἰκείων ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίου ἀποβάλλει. καὶ Μέτελλος κατὰ τὴν Ἀπουλίαν τὴν Οὐενουσίαν, πόλιν ἀξιόλογον οὖσαν<sup>2</sup> καὶ στρατιώτας πολλοὺς ἔχουσιν, ἐξεπολιόρκησε κατὰ καιρὸν τὸν αὐτόν, καὶ πλείους τῶν τρισ-  
 11 χιλίων αἰχμαλώτους εἶλεν. ἐπικρατούντων δ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, πέμπουσιν οἱ Ἱταλοὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην τὸν βασιλέα Πόντου, ἀκμάζοντα τότε πολεμικῇ χειρὶ καὶ παρασκευῇ, ἀξι-  
 ούντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱταλίαν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄγειν τὰς δυνάμεις· οὕτω γὰρ ῥαδίως ἂν συναφθέντων τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν καταβληθῇσεται κράτος. ὁ δὲ Μιθρι-

<sup>1</sup> μυρίων Α.

<sup>2</sup> Α omits οὖσαν.

mere remnant of their original numbers, by common consent they abandoned their federal capital, Corfinium, since the Marsi and all the neighbouring peoples had yielded to the Romans. They established themselves, however, at the Samnite town of Aesernia, and put themselves under five praetors, to one of whom in particular, Quintus Pompeidius Silo, they entrusted the supreme command because of his ability and reputation as a general. He, with the common consent of the praetors, built up a large army, so that, including the men they already had, their numbers now totalled some thirty thousand. In addition, by freeing the slaves and, as occasion offered, providing them with arms, he assembled not far short of twenty thousand men and a thousand horsemen. Meeting in battle a Roman force under <sup>88 B.C.</sup> Mamercus,<sup>1</sup> he slew a few Romans but lost over six thousand of his own men. At about the same time Metellus<sup>2</sup> took by siege Venusia in Apulia, an important city with many soldiers, and took more than three thousand captives. Since the Romans were increasingly gaining the upper hand, the Italians sent to King Mithridates of Pontus, whose military power and means were now at their height, asking him to bring an army into Italy against the Romans<sup>3</sup>; for if they should join forces the might of Rome would easily be overthrown. Mithridates

<sup>1</sup> Mam. Aemilius Lepidus. Livy, *Per.* 76, credits him with the defeat and death of Pompeidius Silo, which Appian, *B.C.* 1. 53, ascribes to Metellus, under whom Mamercus may have served as legate.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, possibly praetor in 88 B.C. (Broughton, *Magistrates, Suppl.*, p. 11).

<sup>3</sup> This appeal for help to Mithridates is mentioned also by Poseidonius *ap.* Athenaeus, 5. 213 c = Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 87, fr. 36, p. 246. 9 ff.

δάτης ἀπόκρισιν δίδωσιν ἄξειν τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ καταστήσῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἔπραττε. διὸ παντελῶς οἱ ἀποστάται τεταπεινωμένοι ἀπεγίνωσκον· λοιποὶ γὰρ ὑπῆρχον Σαυνιτῶν ὀλίγοι καὶ Σάβελλοι διατρίβοντες ἐν τῇ Νῶλᾳ, καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις οἱ περὶ Λαμπώνιον καὶ Κλεπίτιον, ἔχοντες λεύβανα τῶν Λευκανῶν.

- 12 Διὸ καὶ τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου σχεδὸν ἤδη διαλυομένου, πάλιν αἱ προγεγενημέναι στάσεις ἐμφύλιοι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην κινήσεις ἐλάμβανον, ἀντιποιοιμένων πολλῶν ἐνδόξων<sup>1</sup> τυχεῖν τῆς κατὰ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγίας διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπάθλων· Γαίος τε γὰρ Ἰούλιος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ὁ ἐξάκις ὑπατεύσας ἀντεφιλονεῖκουν, καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἦν ἑκατέροις συμμεριζόμενον ταῖς γνώμαις. συνέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἕτεραι ταραχαί. ὁ μέντοι Σύλλας ὑπατος ὢν, χωρισθεὶς τῆς Ῥώμης πρὸς τὰς περὶ Νῶλαν ἡθροισμένας παρεγένετο δυνάμεις, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων καταπληξάμενος ἠνάγκασε παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις. τοῦ δὲ Σύλλα στρατεύσαντος μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατὰ Μιθριδάτου, τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης μεγάλας ταραχαῖς καὶ φόνοις ἐμφυλίοις περισπωμένης, Μάρκος Ἀπώνιος<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τὸ after ἐνδόξων deleted by Krebs.

<sup>2</sup> Λαμπώνιος Wesseling.

replied that he would lead his armies to Italy when he had brought Asia under his sway, for he was now occupied with this. In consequence the rebels were downcast and in utter despair, for they had left to them only a few Samnites and Sabellians, who were at Nola, and besides these, the remnants of the Lucanians under Lamponius and Clepitius.<sup>1</sup>

But now, since the Marsic War was virtually at an end, the intestine disputes that had earlier occurred in Rome took on new life, inasmuch as many prominent men were rival claimants for the command against Mithridates in view of the rich prizes it offered. Gaius Iulius<sup>2</sup> and Gaius Marius (the man who had been six times consul) were pitted against one another, and the populace was divided in sentiment for one side or the other. Other disturbances occurred as well. The consul Sulla,<sup>3</sup> however, quitted Rome and joined the armies gathered about Nola, and by striking fear into many of the neighbouring peoples forced them to surrender their persons and their cities. But once Sulla had set out for Asia to make war upon Mithridates, since Rome was now distracted by great disturbances and intestine bloodshed, Marcus Aponius<sup>4</sup> and Tiberius

<sup>1</sup> If the proper form of the name is Clepitius (so one MS. below, chap. 2. 13), he may be identical with the Clepitius whose Lucanian troops served under Lucullus in the second Servile War (Book 36. 8. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Photius has here apparently condensed and obscured the story. C. Iulius Caesar Strabo, though he had not yet held the office of praetor, attempted to stand for the consulship (possibly, as suggested here, with an eye to the eastern command), and was prevented by the tribune of 88 B.C., P. Sulpicius Rufus, the political ally of Marius.

<sup>3</sup> L. Cornelius Sulla, consul in 88 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly a mistake for Lamponius (above, chap. 2. 11).



καὶ Τιβέριος Κλεπίτιος,<sup>1</sup> ἔτι δὲ Πομπήιος,<sup>2</sup> οἱ τῶν ὑπολοίπων Ἰταλιωτῶν στρατηγοί, διατρίβοντες ἐν τῇ Βρεττία, Ἰσία<sup>3</sup> μὲν πόλιν ὀχυρὰν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον πολιορκήσαντες οὐκ ἴσχυσαν εἰλεῖν, μέρος δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τοῦ στρατεύματος καταλιπόντες τῇ λοιπῇ τὸ Ῥήγιον ἰσχυρῶς ἐπολιόρκουν, ἐλπίζοντες, εἰ ταύτης κρατήσαιεν, ῥαδίως εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν διαβιβάσειν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ κρατήσιν τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον νήσων.  
 14 ἄλλ' ὁ ταύτης στρατηγὸς Γάιος Νορβανός,<sup>4</sup> πολλῇ δυνάμει καὶ παρασκευῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησάμενος, καὶ καταπληξάμενος τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας τῷ μεγέθει τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἐξήρπασε τοὺς Ῥηγίνοὺς. εἰτατὴς περὶ Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον ἐμφυλίου στάσεως ἀναρριπισθείσης Ῥωμαίοις, οἱ μὲν Σύλλα οἱ δὲ Μάριον συνεμάχησαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεον αὐτῶν ἔπεσε τοῖς πολέμοις, τὸ δ' ὑπόλοιπον ἐπικρατήσαντι Σύλλᾳ προσεχώρησε. καὶ οὕτω τέλεον τῇ ἐμφυλίᾳ συν-ἀπέσβη στάσει μέγιστος γεγωνὼς καὶ ὁ Μαρσικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς πόλεμος. (Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 391-392 B.)  
 3. "Ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι νόμοις τε καὶ ἀγωγαῖς ἀρίστοις χρώμενοι κατ' ὀλίγον ηὐξήθησαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιφανεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην τῶν μνημονευομένων κατακτήσασθαι. ἐν

Clepitius, and also Pompeius,<sup>1</sup> the generals of the Italian remnant, who were now in Bruttium, laid siege for a long time to Isiae,<sup>2</sup> a strongly fortified city. They did not succeed in capturing it, but leaving a part of their army to continue the siege, strongly invested Rhegium with the rest, expecting that if they once got it into their hands they would at their ease transport their armies to Sicily and win control of the richest island under the sun. But Gaius Norbanus,<sup>3</sup> the governor of Sicily, by prompt use of his large army and military resources struck fear into the Italians by the magnitude of his preparations and rescued the people of Rhegium. Then, with the rekindling of the civil strife at Rome between Sulla and Marius,<sup>4</sup> some fought for Sulla and some for Marius. Most of them perished in the conflict, and the survivors went over to the victorious Sulla. Thus the flames of civil strife were quenched, and at the same time the greatest of wars, the Marsic, finally came to an end.

3. In days of old the Romans, by adhering to the best laws and customs, little by little became so powerful that they acquired the greatest and most splendid empire known to history.<sup>5</sup> But in more

<sup>1</sup> Norbanus (the MSS. give the name as Orbanus) was governor of Sicily in 88 and 87 B.C. Cp. Cicero, *Verr.* 5. 8, who is, however, hostile to Norbanus.

<sup>2</sup> In this hasty condensation Photius may here be referring to C. Marius the Younger, consul of 82 B.C. Cp. below, Books 38/9. 15.

<sup>3</sup> From this point on the Constantinian fragments provide, in a fuller and more authentic form, some parts of the narrative briefly condensed by Photius in chap. 2. Thus chap. 3 corresponds to the final sentence of chap. 2. 1. Chapters 4-8 form a digression on the theme of old-fashioned virtue in high places, and the narrative proper resumes with chap. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Κλέπιος B (and cp. Book 36. 8. 1). <sup>2</sup> Πόντιος Wesseling.

<sup>3</sup> So A: Ἀσίας cett., Τισίας Wesseling.

<sup>4</sup> So Wesseling: Ὀρβανός.

<sup>1</sup> Wesseling suggests that the name Pompeius may be corrupt and that the man intended is Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite chieftain who reappears with Lamponius in 82 B.C. as the leader of an unsubdued remnant of the Italian rebels (Appian, *B.C.* 1. 90, Velleius Paterculus, 2. 27).

<sup>2</sup> Probably Tisia, in Bruttium, is meant.

δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις καιροῖς, καταπεπολεμημένων μὲν τῶν πλείστων ἔθνων, πολυχρονίου δὲ εἰρήνης γενομένης, μετέπεσεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγωγῆς εἰς ὀλέθριον ζῆλον. ἐτράπησαν γὰρ οἱ νέοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἀνεσιν εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ ἀκολασίαν, χορηγὸν ἔχοντες τὸν πλοῦτον ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. προεκρίνετο γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῆς μὲν λιτότητος ἢ πολυτέλεια, τῆς δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων μελέτης ἢ ῥαστώνῃ· μακάριος δ' ὑπέιληπτο τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ ὁ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς κεκοσμημένος, ἀλλ' ὁ ταῖς προσηνεστάταις ἡδοναῖς πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ἐπαπολαύων. διὸ καὶ δείπνων πολυδαπάνων παραθέσεις ἐπεπόλασαν καὶ μύρων θαυματοζομένων εὐωδία καὶ στρωμνῆς ἀνθινῆς καὶ μεγαλοπλούτου παρασκευαῖ τρικλίων τ' ἐξ<sup>1</sup> ἐλέφαντος καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ὑλῶν περιττῶς δεδημιουργημένων κατασκευαί. τῶν δὲ οἶνων ὁ μὲν μετρίως τέρπων τὴν γεῦσιν ἀπεδοκιμάζετο, Φαλερῖνος δὲ καὶ Χίος καὶ πᾶς ὁ τούτοις ἐφάμιλλον ἔχων ἡδονήν, ἰχθύων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρηστῶν τὰ πρωτεύοντα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀνέδην ἀνηλίσκοντο. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις οἱ νέοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐφόρουν ἐσθῆτας διαφόρους μὲν ταῖς μαλακότησι, διαφανεῖς δὲ κατὰ<sup>2</sup> τὴν λεπτότητα, ταῖς γυναικείαις παρεμφερεῖς. καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλαζονείαν ὀλέθριον ἀνῆκοντα παρασκευαζόμενοι ταχὺ τὰς τούτων τιμὰς εἰς ἄπιστον ὑπερβολὴν ἤγαγον.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τ' ἐξ Wifstrand : καὶ P.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ] καὶ κατὰ Valesius, Vulgate.

recent times, when most nations had already been subjugated in war and there was a long period of peace, the ancient practices gave way at Rome to pernicious tendencies. After the cessation of warfare the young men turned to a soft and undisciplined manner of life, and their wealth served as purveyor to their desires.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the city lavishness was preferred to frugality, a life of ease to the practice of warlike pursuits, and he who was regarded as happy by the populace was not the man distinguished for his high qualities of character, but rather one who passed his whole life in the enjoyment of the most gratifying pleasures. Hence elaborate and costly dinner parties came into fashion, with marvellously sweet-scented unguents, the use of expensive coloured draperies, and the making of dining-couches with ivory, silver, and the other most expensive materials by workmen of rare skill. Of wines, any that gave but moderate pleasure to the palate were rejected, while Falernian, Chian, and all that rival these in flavour were consumed without stint, as were the fish and other choice foods that were most highly prized as delicacies. Following this standard the young men would appear in the Forum wearing garments of exceptional softness, and so sheer as to be transparent, quite like women's attire. And since they were busy acquiring the appurtenances of pleasure and of fatal ostentation, they soon raised the prices of these articles to incredible

<sup>1</sup> The verbal similarities (cp. Book 31. 26. 7) show that Diodorus is here referring specifically to the period following the Third Macedonian War.

<sup>2</sup> παρασκευαζόμενοι . . . ἤγαγον Walton : παρασκευαζόμενα . . . ἤγαγεν P.

5 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ οἴνου τὸ κεράμιον ἐπωλεῖτο δραχμῶν ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ Ποντικῶν ταρίχων<sup>1</sup> τὸ κεράμιον δραχμῶν τετρακοσίων, τῶν δὲ μαγείρων οἱ διαφέροντες ὀψαρτυτικάις φιλοτεχνίαις ταλάντων τεττάρων, οἱ δὲ ταῖς εὐμορφίαις<sup>2</sup> ἐκπρεπεῖς<sup>3</sup> παράκοιτοι πολλῶν ταλάντων. ἀδιορθώτου δ' οὔσης τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν ὁρμῆς, ἐπεβάλοντό τινες τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς λαμβανόντων ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μετατίθεσθαι τὸν<sup>4</sup> τῆς προειρημένης ἀγωγῆς ζῆλον, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον περίοπτον ὄντα διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀρχέτυπον εἰς μίμησιν τιθέναι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp. 315-316.)

6 Ὅτι Μάρκος Κάτων, ἀνὴρ σώφρων καὶ ἀγωγῇ καλῇ διαφέρων, ἐν τῇ<sup>5</sup> συγκλήτῳ κατηγορῶν τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς ἔφησεν ἐν<sup>6</sup> μόνῃ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ τὰ μὲν κεράμια τῶν Ποντικῶν ταρίχων ὑπάρχειν τιμιώτερα τῶν ζευγηλατῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐρωμένους<sup>7</sup> τῶν ἀγρῶν.

4. Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ ἱστορικὸς Διόδωρος, Μνησθήσομαι τινων παραδείγματος ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαίου καὶ τοῦ<sup>8</sup> τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ συμφέροντος, ἵν' οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν βλασφημίας ἀποτρέπωνται τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν<sup>9</sup> ὁρμῆς, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ διὰ τοὺς<sup>10</sup> ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου δόξης<sup>11</sup> ἐπαίνους ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὁρέγωνται.<sup>12</sup> (Const. Exc. 4, pp. 394-395.)

<sup>1</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: ταρίχαν P.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius: ἐνευμορφίαις P.

<sup>3</sup> So Wesseling: ἐκ P.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν added by Valesius.

<sup>5</sup> τῇ added by Dindorf.

peaks. A jar of wine, for example, sold for a hundred drachmas, a jar of Pontic smoked fish for four hundred drachmas, chefs who were especially gifted in the culinary arts at four talents, and male concubines of striking physical beauty for many talents.<sup>1</sup> Although the appetite for evil could not be corrected, some officials in the provinces attempted to remedy the craze for this kind of life and to make their own conduct, placed as it was in the limelight by rank and position, a model of noble pursuits for all to imitate.

Marcus Cato, a man distinguished for his probity and good conduct, when denouncing before the senate the prevalence of luxury at Rome, stated that only in this city were jars of Pontic smoked fish valued more highly than teamsters, and catamites than farmlands.

4. I shall make mention of certain men to serve as models, both because they merit my praise and for the good it does to society, in order that the denunciations of History may lead the wicked to turn from their evil course, and the praises that its enduring glory confers may persuade the good to aspire to high standards of conduct.

<sup>1</sup> For a similar list of costly luxuries and for Cato's remark, given below, see Book 31. 24, and Polybius, 31. 25 (c. 161 B.C.).

<sup>6</sup> ἐν added by Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> So Mai (with δὲ for δ', corrected by Dindorf<sup>8</sup>): δὲ Ῥωμαίους V.

<sup>8</sup> τοῦ added by Wifstrand.

<sup>9</sup> ἀποτρέπωνται . . . κακίαν Dindorf: ἀποτρέπονται τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας V.

<sup>10</sup> So Mai: τῆς V.

<sup>11</sup> So Dindorf: ζῶης V, μνήμης Herwerden.

<sup>12</sup> So Dindorf: ὁρέγονται V.



5. Ὅτι Κόντος Σκαιουόλας μεγίστην εἰσρηγέ-  
κατο σπουδὴν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς διορθώσασθαι  
τὴν φανυλότητα τοῦ ζήλου. ἐκπεμφθεὶς γὰρ εἰς  
τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατηγός, ἐπιλεξάμενος τὸν ἀρίστον  
τῶν φίλων σύμβουλον Κόντον Ῥούτιλιον μετ' αὐτοῦ  
συνῆδρευε βουλευόμενος καὶ πάντα διατάττων καὶ  
κρίνων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν. καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν  
δαπάνην ἔκρινεν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς  
τε συνεκδήμοις καὶ αὐτῷ.<sup>1</sup> εἶτα λιτότητι καὶ ἀφε-  
λείᾳ χρώμενος καὶ ἀκεραίῳ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὴν ἐπαρ-  
χίαν ἀνέλαβεν ἐκ τῶν προγεγονότων ἀκληρημάτων.  
οἱ γὰρ προγεγονότες κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δημοσιώνας<sup>2</sup>  
κοινωνοὺς ἐσχηκότες, τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰς δημο-  
σίας κρίσεις διαδικάζοντας,<sup>3</sup> ἀνομημάτων ἐπεπλη-  
ρώκεσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν.

<sup>2</sup> Ὅτι Μούκιος<sup>4</sup> ὁ Σκαιουόλας ταῖς μὲν δικαιοδο-  
σίαις ἀδιαφθόροις καὶ ἀκριβέσι χρησάμενος οὐ  
μόνον πάσης συκοφαντίας ἀπήλλαξε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν  
ἐπαρχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν δημοσιωνῶν ἀνομήματα  
διωρθώσατο. πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἡδικομένοις ἀκριβῆ  
κριτήρια προστάττων,<sup>5</sup> καταδίκους ἐν ᾗσιν ἐποίει  
τοὺς δημοσιώνας καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀργυρικὰς βλάβας  
τοῖς ἡδικομένοις ἐκτίνειν ἠνάγκαζε, τὰ δὲ θανατικὰ  
<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἡξίου κρίσεως θανατικῆς. ὅτε δὴ  
τὸν κορυφαῖον τούτων οἰκονόμον, διδόντα μὲν ὑπὲρ

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: αὐτῷ P. <sup>2</sup> δημοσιῶναι Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: καταδικάζοντας P, δικάζοντας Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf (and Rhodoman latinus): Λεύκιος P, Κόντος  
Wesseling, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> So Büttner-Wobst: προστατεύων P.

<sup>1</sup> Q. Mucius Scaevola, as proconsul in Asia in 97 B.C.,  
earned the reputation of a model governor, and was honoured  
by the province with a penteteric festival. His legate was  
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5. Quintus Scaevola<sup>1</sup> applied very great energy  
to correcting by his personal integrity the perversion  
of men's ideals. When sent out to Asia as governor,  
he selected as his legate the noblest of his friends,  
Quintus Rutilius, and kept him at his side when  
taking counsel, issuing orders, and giving judgement  
about provincial matters. He resolved that all ex-  
penses for himself and his staff should come from  
his own purse. Furthermore, by his observance of  
frugality and simplicity, and by allowing nothing to  
warp his honesty, he enabled the province to recover  
from its former misery. For his predecessors in Asia,  
being in partnership with the publicans, the very  
men who sat<sup>2</sup> in judgement on public cases at Rome,  
had filled the province with their acts of lawlessness.

Mucius Scaevola, by maintaining the administra-  
tion of justice incorruptible and exact, not only re-  
lieved the provincials from all legal chicanery, but  
in addition redressed the unjust exactions of the  
publicans. He assigned scrupulously fair tribunals  
to hear all who had been wronged, and in every  
case found the publicans guilty; he forced them to  
reimburse the plaintiffs for financial losses they had  
suffered, while he required those who were accused  
of having put men to death to stand trial on capital  
charges. Indeed, in the case of the chief agent for  
the publicans, a slave who was ready to pay a great

P. (not Q.) Rutilius Rufus, later condemned for extortion by  
the knights in a flagrant miscarriage of justice. Rutilius was  
the author of a Latin autobiography, and of a *Roman History*  
written in Greek and cited by Poseidonius (Jacoby, *FGH*,  
no. 87, fr. 27) and by later historians: cp. G. L. Hendrick-  
son, *C.P.* 28 (1933), 153-175.

<sup>2</sup> As emended by Dindorf the text would read: "For the  
previous tax collectors in Asia, being in partnership with the  
men who sat, etc."

τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ συμπεφωνηκότα πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους, φθάσας τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ θανάτου καταδικάσας ἀνεσταύρωσεν.

4 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τοὺς δημοσιώνας κατεδίκαζε καὶ τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐνεχείριζε. καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν καὶ πλεονεξίαν πολλὰ παρανομοῦντας παρ' ἐλπίδας ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδικημένων ἀπάγεσθαι<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοὺς καταδίκους. καὶ τὰς συνήβεις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ συνεκδήμοις δαπάνας ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ποιοῦμενος ταχὺ τὰς εὐνοίας τῶν συμμαχοῦντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνεκτίησας. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp. 316-317.)

Chap. 5a : see below, after Chap. 6.

6. "Ὅτι τὸ προϋπάρχον εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μῖσος ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σύνεσις καὶ ἀρετὴ τοῖς ἐνδεχομένοις βοηθήμασι διωρθώσαντο, καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσι τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἔτυχε, παρὰ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν πολλὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἀπέλαβε. (Const. Exc. 4, p. 395.)

Chap. 7 : see below, after Chap. 5a.

5a. . . . ἐφρόνει· ὥς δὲ ἔνιοι, ὅτι κατὰ διαθήκην τῷ ἐτέρῳ νύῳ τὰ πλείω κατέλιπε τῆς οὐσίας, τοῖς ὅλοις ἐκινδύνευσεν. ὁ γὰρ νεανίσκος τόλμη καὶ προπετεῖα διαφέρων, περιβέμενος διάδημα καὶ βασιλέα Μακεδόνων ἑαυτὸν ἀναδείξας παρεκάλει τοὺς<sup>2</sup> πολλοὺς ἀφίστασθαι Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὴν προγεγενημένην Μακεδόσιν πατριὸν βασιλείαν ἀνακτᾶσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius : ὑπάγεσθαι P.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς added by Feder.

<sup>1</sup> Since this is a separate fragment, introduced by "Ὅτι, it is not certain that it too refers to Scaevola.

sum for his freedom and had already made an agreement with his masters, he acted promptly before the man was manumitted, and on his being found guilty had him crucified.

This same man<sup>1</sup> gave judgement against the publicans and handed them over to those whom they had wronged. So it came about that men who in their contempt for others and their desire for gain had a short while before often flouted the law were unexpectedly taken into custody by the men they had wronged and were led off to join the condemned. And since he furnished from his own purse the expenses normally provided for the governors and their staffs, he soon restored the good will of the allies towards Rome.

6. The governor's wisdom and virtue, together with the assistance he was enabled to render, served as a corrective to the hatred that had previously arisen against the ruling power. He himself was accorded quasi-divine honours<sup>2</sup> among those he had benefited, and from his fellow citizens he received many tributes in recognition of his achievements.

5a. . . . he was minded. But as some say, because in his will he had left the greater part of his property to the other son, he nearly lost everything. For the young man, rash and impetuous to excess, setting a diadem on his head and proclaiming himself "King of the Macedonians" exhorted the populace to rise in revolt against Rome and restore the traditional kingdom once held by the Mace-

<sup>2</sup> Since chap. 6 seems clearly to refer to Scaevola (as recognized by Dindorf himself), it belongs here rather than after chap. 5a. For the honours accorded him, the *Μουκία*, see *Orientalis Graeci Insc. Sel.* 437-439.

πολλῶν δὲ συντρεχόντων, ὡς ἀρπαγῆς ἐσομένης, ὁ δὴ<sup>1</sup> Ἐξήκεστος ἀγωνιάσας ἐξέπεμψε τινα τὸν διασαφήςοντα Σεντίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπόνοιαν. διεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ<sup>2</sup> πρὸς Κότυν<sup>3</sup> τὸν βασιλέα Θρακῶν, ἀξίων μεταπέμψασθαι τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ πείσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀποστήναι. ὁ δὲ ἔχων φιλίαν πρὸς Εὐφάνην<sup>4</sup> μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν, καὶ παρακατασχὼν ἡμέρας τινὰς παρέδωκε τῷ πατρί· καὶ ἀπελύθη τῶν διαβολῶν.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 208-209.)

Chap. 6: see above, after Chap. 5.

7. Ῥητέον δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκ ταπεινοτέρας μὲν δόξης ὀρμηθέντων, ὀρεχθέντων δ' οὐχ<sup>5</sup> ἑτέρας ἐπιβολῆς τῶν προειρημένων. ἐπ' ἴσης γὰρ τοῖς ἐν ἀξιώμασι μεγάλοις καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις τῆς ἀρετῆς ζῆλος ἔγκειται. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 395.)

8. Ὅτι Λεύκιος Ἀσύλλιος, πατὴρ μὲν ὑπάρχων τεταμεινκός, ἐκπεμφθεὶς δὲ στρατηγὸς εἰς Σικελίαν, κατέλαβε τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διεφθαρμένην, ἀνεκτήσατο δὲ τὴν νῆσον χρησάμενος τοῖς καλλίστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν. παραπλησίως γὰρ τῷ Σκαιουόλῳ προεχειρίσατο τὸν ἀριστον τῶν φίλων πρεσβευτὴν τε καὶ σύμβουλον, ὃς ἦν Γάιος, ἐπικαλούμενος δὲ Λόγγος, ζηλωτὴς τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ σώφρονος ἀγωγῆς, καὶ Πόπλιον σὺν τούτῳ, πρωτεύοντα τῇ δόξῃ

<sup>1</sup> So Feder: δὲ S. Dindorf deletes δὲ.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ added by Feder, Müller.

<sup>3</sup> So Feder, Müller: Κότην S.

<sup>4</sup> Εὐφάνην Feder, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> δ' οὐχ Wifstrand: δὲ τῆς V.

<sup>1</sup> C. Sentius was *propraetor* in Macedonia for a number of years, apparently 93-87 B.C. Since his old-fashioned virtues won the praise of Cicero (*Verr.* 3. 217) and Varro (*ap.* Pliny, 206

donians. Many flocked to his standard in anticipation of the looting that would take place. Execestus, however, in deep distress sent someone to inform Sentius,<sup>1</sup> the governor, of his son's mad folly. He sent also to Cotys, the king of the Thracians, asking him to summon the young man and persuade him to desist from his enterprise. Cotys, being on friendly terms with Euphenes, sent for him and after detaining him for some days handed him over to his father. And he was acquitted of the charges placed against him.

7. We must speak also of the men who started from a quite humble level of repute, but set their sights on a goal no different from those mentioned. Indeed, the pursuit of virtue is found in equal measure among men of high rank and those of more lowly estate.

8. Lucius Asyllius,<sup>2</sup> son of a man who had risen only to the rank of *quaestor*, on being sent out as governor of Sicily found the province ruined, but by the excellence of the measures he employed succeeded in restoring the island. Like Scaevola, he selected the finest of his friends as legate and adviser, a certain Gaius, surnamed Longus, an ardent partisan of the sober, old-fashioned way of life, and together with him a man named Publius, the most highly

*N.H.* 14. 96), Dindorf is probably right in assigning this puzzling fragment to the section on model governors. The name Cotys is of frequent occurrence among the Thracian chieftains, but Execestus and his son Euphenes (?) are otherwise unknown.

<sup>2</sup> He is called Syllius below. On the strength of the association with C. Sempronius Longus he is probably to be identified as L. Sempronius Asellio, whose governorship may be assigned to c. 96 B.C. (cp. Broughton, *Magistrates*, 2. 10, note 3).



2 τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις κατοικοῦντων ἱππέων· χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν καὶ ταῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρεταῖς διέφερον.<sup>1</sup> σημεῖον δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας αἱ θυσίαι καὶ αἱ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατασκευαὶ καὶ τὰ<sup>2</sup> ἀναθήματα, τὸ δὲ τῆς σωφροσύνης τὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου γραμμῆς ἀσινεῖς ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ τῆς παιδείας τε καὶ φιланθρωπίας τὸ προτιμᾶσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ περιττότερον τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους. καθόλου δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τινος ἐπαινουμένης μούσης ὀρμωμένους εὐεργέτει, συλλαμβάνων ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἀφειδῶς. οἷς δυσὶν ὁ Σύλλιος προσαναπανόμενος ὁμοτοίχους μὲν οἰκίας εἰς κατάλυσιν παρεσκεύασατο, συνήδρευε δὲ μετὰ τούτων τὰ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ἐπακριβούμενος καὶ πάντα φιλοτεχνῶν<sup>3</sup> πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῆς ἐπαρχίας.

4 Ὅτι δ' αὐτὸς . . . τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν πρὸς τὰ συμφέροντα φιλοτιμηθεὶς τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐφυγάδευσε, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων βοηθείας μεγίστην ἐποίησατο φροντίδα. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων στρατηγῶν εἰωθότων διδόναι προστάτας τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐρήμοις συγγενῶν, οὗτος ἐαυτὸν τούτων ἀνέδειξε φροντιστήν· διὰ τε τῆς ἰδίας σκέψεως καὶ φροντίδος διακρίνων τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἀμφισβητήσεις πᾶσιν ἀπένευμε τὴν πρέπουσαν τοῖς καταδυναστευομένοις ἐπικουρίαν. καθόλου δὲ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διατελέσας εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν<sup>4</sup> καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀπεκατέστησε τὴν νῆσον εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποτὲ μακαριζομένην εὐδαιμονίαν. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp. 317-318.)

<sup>1</sup> So Wurm: διέφερον P, διέφερε Wesseling (after Rhodoman latinus).

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ Salmasius. Valesius: κατὰ P.

esteemed member of the equestrian order resident in Syracuse. The latter, indeed, was a man of exceptional personal qualities, quite apart from the gifts of fortune. His piety is attested by the sacrifices, the improvements made to temples, and the dedications offered in his name, his sobriety by the fact that he retained his faculties unimpaired to his dying day, and his culture and humanity by the special consideration he showed to men of learning; in general he was the benefactor of practitioners of any of the esteemed arts, whom he assisted from his personal fortune without stint. These then were the two men on whom Syllius relied, and having constructed adjoining houses to accommodate them, he kept them by him as he worked out the details of the administration of justice and devised means to further the rehabilitation of the province.

This same man, . . . aspiring (to reform) the administration of justice for the common good, banished sycophancy from the market place and made it his major concern to succour the weak. Whereas other governors had been wont to appoint guardians for orphaned children and women without kinsmen, he designated himself as the one to care for them; and since he investigated for himself any disputes among them and took great care in making a decision, he rendered to all victims of oppression such assistance as was fitting. In general he devoted his entire term of office to redressing private and public wrongs, and thereby restored the island to its former state of generally acclaimed prosperity.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ after φιλοτεχνῶν deleted by Salmasius, Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ added by Salmasius, Valesius.

<sup>5</sup> So Madvig: βιωτικῶν P.

9. "Ὅτι ἀπειλούσης τῆς συγκλήτου πόλεμον τῷ Γράκχῳ διὰ τὴν μετάρθεσιν τῶν κριτηρίων, τεταρρηκῶτως οὗτος εἶπεν ὅτι Κᾶν ἀποθάνω, οὐ διαλείψω . . . <sup>1</sup> τὸ ξίφος ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς τῶν συγκλητικῶν διηρημένον.<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ ῥηθεὶς<sup>3</sup> λόγος ὥσπερ τις θεοῦ χρησμός ἀκόλουθον ἔσχε τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα. ὁ γὰρ Γράκχος τύραννον ἑαυτὸν ἀναδεδειχὼς ἀκρίτως ἀνῆρέθη. (Const. Exc. 4, p. 395.)

10. "Ὅτι Μάρκος Λίβιος Δροῦσος ἀνὴρ νέος μὲν ἦν<sup>4</sup> τὴν ἡλικίαν, κεκοσμημένος δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς πρωτείοις. πατρός τε γὰρ ἦν ἐπιφανεστάτου καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις δι' εὐγένειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν θαυμαστῶς ἀγαπωμένου,<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸς τε<sup>6</sup> ὑπῆρχε λόγῳ μὲν δεινότητος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν, πλούτῳ δὲ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας ὑπερβάλλων, μεγάλην δὲ ἀξιοπιστίαν ἔχων καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ὧν βεβαιότατος, ἔτι δὲ πλήρης εὐγενοῦς φρονήματος. διὸ καὶ μόνος ἔδοξεν ἐσεσθαι προστάτης τῆς συγκλήτου.

(Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 318.)

2 "Ὅτι πλεῖστον ἴσχυεν ἡ τῶν Δρούσων οἰκία διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιείκειαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν. διὸ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna indicated by Walton.

<sup>2</sup> διηρημένον] διηρημένον<sup>3</sup>, κατὰ τῆς . . . διηρημένον Herwerden, διαλείπει . . . ἐξηρημένον Van der Mey.

<sup>3</sup> ῥηθεὶς Herwerden.

<sup>4</sup> ἦν added by Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: ἀγαπώμεν P.

<sup>6</sup> So Krebs: δὲ P.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "from the flank of the senatorials." This interesting passage seems unfortunately to be hopelessly corrupt, and the statement of C. Gracchus cannot be exactly recovered. Probably a present participle is missing after διαλείψω. Somewhat similar remarks are attributed to him

9. When the senate was threatening Gracchus with war because of his transfer of the courts, he resolutely exclaimed: "Even though I perish, I shall not cease . . . the sword wrested from the grasp of the senators."<sup>1</sup> This utterance, as though it had been some divine oracle, found fulfilment in accordance with the words spoken, inasmuch as Gracchus, having arrogated to himself tyrannical power, was put to death without trial.<sup>2</sup>

10. Marcus Livius Drusus,<sup>3</sup> though young in years, <sup>91 B.C.</sup> was endowed with every advantage. His father was a man of very great distinction, whose nobility and virtues had won him the particular affection of his fellow citizens. Drusus himself was the most competent orator of his generation, and was the wealthiest man in the city; he was highly trustworthy, and most faithful to his promises; he was, moreover, imbued with a generous magnanimity. Hence it was thought that he alone was destined to become the champion of the senate.<sup>4</sup>

The family of the Drusi wielded very great influence because of the nobility of its members and the kindness and consideration that they displayed to

in Books 34/5. 27, and in Appian, *B.C.* 1. 22; cp. also Cicero, *De Leg.* 3. 20. Appian's statement, "Gracchus remarked that he had broken the power of the senate once for all," is perhaps closest in general purport. The passage is relevant here as a parallel to the attempted reforms of Drusus.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly, to provide an "oracular" significance for his words, ξίφος was given the sense of *ius gladii*, as in Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 4. 42. Gaius' death did not, in fact, come by the "sword of Justice."

<sup>3</sup> The tribune of 91 B.C. His father, tribune in 122 B.C., was the famous rival of C. Gracchus.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Cicero, *Pro Milone*, 16: "nobilissimus vir, senatus propugnator atque . . . paene patronus."

νόμου τινὸς προκειμένου καὶ προσφάτως κεκυρωμένου, τῶν πολιτῶν τις ἐν παιδιᾷ τῷ νόμῳ προσέγραψεν ὅτι "Ὁδε ὁ νόμος κύριός ἐστι τῶν πολιτῶν πλὴν δυεῖν Δρούσων.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "Ὅτι ὁ Δρούσος τῆς συγκλήτου τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦ ἀκυρούσης ἔφη ἑαυτὸν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα πᾶσαν τῶν νόμων δυνάμενόν τε ἑαυτὸν κωλύσαι δόγματα γράφειν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκουσίως μὴ ποιήσῃ, καλῶς εἰδὼτα τοὺς ἐξαμαρτήσαντας ταχὺ τευξομένους τῆς προσηκούσης δίκης. ἀκυρουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup> γραφέντων νόμων ἄκυρον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὸν<sup>3</sup> περὶ τῶν κριτηρίων νόμον· οὗ συντελεσθέντος τὸν μὲν ἀδωροδοκίῳ βεβιωκότα μηδεμιᾶς τεύξεσθαι κατηγορίας, τοὺς δὲ τὰς ἐπαρχίας σεσυληκότας ἀχθήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῆς δωροδοκίας εὐθύνas· ὥστε τοὺς διὰ φθόνον καθαιροῦντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ<sup>4</sup> δόξαν τοῖς ἰδίῳις δόγμασι καθάπερ αὐτόχειρας κινδυνεύειν γενέσθαι.<sup>5</sup>

11. "Ὀμνυμι<sup>6</sup> τὸν Δία τὸν Καπετώλιον καὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τὸν πατῶρον αὐτῆς Ἄρην καὶ τὸν γενάρχην Ἥλιον καὶ τὴν εὐεργέτιν ζῶν τε καὶ φυτῶν Γῆν, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς κτίστας γεγεννημένους τῆς Ῥώμης ἡμιθέους καὶ τοὺς συναυξή-

<sup>1</sup> So Mai: τρώπων V.

<sup>2</sup> ὑφ' αὐτοῦ Mai: ὑφ'αὐτὸν V.

<sup>3</sup> So Mai: τῶν V.

<sup>4</sup> So Mai: ἑαυτῶν V.

<sup>5</sup> γενέσθαι added by Nock.

<sup>6</sup> In the margin V has "ΟΡΚΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the leaders of the senatorial opposition.

<sup>2</sup> This law would have wrested the courts from complete equestrian control, and contained a special clause making the knights liable to prosecution for judicial bribery.

their fellow citizens. Hence when a certain law was brought forward and had just received approval, one citizen added the facetious amendment: "this law is binding on all citizens—except the two Drusi."

When the senate pronounced his legislation invalid Drusus declared that the laws were within his sphere of competency and that he had the power, in his own person, to veto the senatorial decrees; this, however, he would not willingly do, since he knew full well that the offenders<sup>1</sup> would in any case soon meet with the retribution they deserved. But if the laws drawn up by him were invalidated, so likewise, he claimed, would the law relating to the courts be null and void<sup>2</sup>; and while, under this law, had it been put into effect, no one whose life had remained untainted by bribery would be liable to accusations, those who had plundered the provinces would be haled up to give an accounting before special courts for cases of bribery; thus the men who through jealousy were engaged in demolishing his reputation were in effect the assassins of their own decrees.

11. "I swear<sup>3</sup> by Jupiter Capitolinus, by Vesta of Rome, by Mars her ancestral god, by Sol the founder of the race,<sup>4</sup> and by Terra the benefactress of animals and plants, likewise by the demigods who founded Rome and by the heroes who have contributed to

<sup>3</sup> This oath of the Italians to Drusus, long considered of dubious historical value and authenticity, has latterly been defended: for recent discussions see L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (1949), 46 and, *contra*, H. J. Rose, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 30 (1937), 165-181. The marginal note in the manuscript identifying this as the "Oath of Philippus" is clearly in error.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* Sol Indiges.



σαντας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῆς ἡρώας, τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον καὶ πολέμιον ἡγήσεσθαι Δρούσῳ, καὶ μήτε βίον<sup>1</sup> μήτε τέκνων καὶ γονέων μηδεμιᾶς φείσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> ψυχῆς, εἰ μὴ συμφέρῃ Δρούσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον ὁμόσασιν. εἰ δὲ γένωμαι πολίτης τῷ Δρούσου νόμῳ, πατρίδα ἡγήσομαι τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ μέγιστον εὐεργέτην Δρούσον. καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τόνδε παραδώσω ὡς<sup>3</sup> ἂν μάλιστα πλείστοις δύνωμαι τῶν πολιτῶν. καὶ εὐορκοῦντι μὲν μοι ἐπίκτησις εἴη τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐπιорκοῦντι δὲ τάναντία.

12. "Ὅτι συντελουμένων κατὰ τύχην ἀγώνων καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου πεπληρωμένου τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν κατηντηκότων Ῥωμαίων,<sup>4</sup> κωμῳδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀγανακτοῦντα<sup>5</sup> κατέσφαξαν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, φήσαντες οὐκ ἀκολούθως αὐτὸν ὑποκρίνασθαι τῇ περιστάσει. τῆς δὲ πανηγυρικῆς θεᾶς εἰς πολεμικὴν σκυθρωπότητα καὶ φόβων ὑπερβολὴν ἐκτραπέισης, ἡ τύχη σατυρικὸν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ πρόσωπον ἐπεισήγαγεν. ἦν γάρ τις Λατίνος ὄνομα μὲν Σαννίων,<sup>6</sup> γελωτοποιὸς δὲ καὶ χάριτας ὑπερβαλλούσας ἔχων εἰς ἰλαρότητα· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐκίνει γέλωτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ καθ'

<sup>1</sup> So Mai: βίον V.

<sup>2</sup> So Herwerden: φείσεσθαι V.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: οἷς V. Perhaps ὅσοις.

<sup>4</sup> So V, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>: Ῥωμαίων Dindorf<sup>3</sup>, Boissevain.

<sup>5</sup> So V ("sic clare," Boissevain): Mai read ἀγωνιζομένων (-όμενον Dindorf). Perhaps ἀγανακτοῦντες.

<sup>6</sup> Σαννίων or Σαννίων V.

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, "the demigods and heroes who founded Rome and increased her power," intended to represent *Deos*

increase her empire,<sup>1</sup> that I will count the friend and foe of Drusus my friend and foe, and that I will spare neither property nor the lives of my children or parents except as it be to the advantage of Drusus and of those who have taken this oath. If I become a citizen by the law of Drusus, I shall consider Rome my country and Drusus my greatest benefactor. This oath I will transmit to as many citizens as I can. If I swear faithfully may all good things come to me; if I am forsworn, the reverse."

12. It so happened that a festival was being celebrated and that the theatre was filled with Romans who had turned out for the spectacle; when a comedian on the stage gave vent to his indignation they<sup>a</sup> lynched him right in the theatre, declaring that he was not playing his part as the situation required. The festive occasion having thus been transformed into one of glowering hostility and utter panic, at this juncture Fortune introduced on the scene a droll Satyrlike figure. This was a certain Latin named Saunio, a buffoon with a wonderful gift for gaiety. Not only could he stir up laughter by what he said, but even without a word his slightest

*Indigites, auctores imperii conditoresque*: cp. H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism* (1947), 90 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Romans in the audience (so Krebs); as so often the opening sentence shows the clumsy hand of the excerptor: we must assume that the Romans present, though numerous, were a minority in the audience. Of the setting we can say only that the story is laid in Picenum and reflects the hostility of the Italian allies to Rome on the eve of the Social War. It is tempting, however, to go further and localize the scene at Asculum, on the assumption that the festival is that at which the Roman praetor Servilius and his legate Fonteius were assassinated and the Romans in the city massacred (Appian, *B.C.* 1. 38, and below, end of chap. 13).

ὅποιαν<sup>1</sup> σώματος ἐπιστροφὴν ἅπαντας ἐποίει τοὺς θεωμένους μειδιᾶν, φυσικῆς τινος ἐπιτρεχούσης πιθανότητος. διὸ καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μεγάλῃς ἀποδοχῆς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπηξιοῦτο<sup>2</sup>. οἱ δὲ Πικεντῖνοι τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τέρψιν ταύτην τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀφελέσθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦτον διέγνωσαν  
<sup>3</sup> ἀποκτεῖναι. ὁ δὲ προαισθόμενος τὸ μέλλον τελεῖσθαι προῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τῆς τοῦ κωμωδοῦ σφαγῆς ἄρτι γεγεννημένης, "Ἄνδρες, εἶπε, θεαταί, καλλιεροῦμεν· ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ δ' εἴη συντετελεσμένος τὸ κακόν· οὐ γάρ εἰμι Ῥωμαῖος, ἀλλ' ὅμοιος ὑμῶν<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ ῥάβδοις τεταγμένος περινοστώ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ χάριτας ἐμπορευόμενος ἡδονὰς καὶ γέλωτας θηρῶμαι. διὸ φείσασθε<sup>4</sup> τῆς κοινῆς ἀπάντων χελιδόνος, ἣ τὸ θεῖον ἔδωκεν ἐν ταῖς ἀπάντων οἰκίαις ἐννεοττεύειν ἀκινδύνως· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ὑμᾶς πολλὰ κλαίειν. οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς διάλυσιν<sup>5</sup> καὶ γέλωτα διελθὼν καὶ τῇ πιθανότητι καὶ χάριτι τῆς ὁμιλίας τὸ πικρὸν τῆς τιμωρίας παραιτησάμενος ἀπελύθη τῶν κινδύνων. (Const. Exc. 4, pp. 395-397.)

13. "Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Μαρσῶν ἡγούμενος Πομπαίδιος<sup>6</sup> ἐπεβάλετο μεγάλη καὶ παραβόλῳ πράξει. μυρίου γὰρ ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τῶν τὰς εὐθύνας φοβουμένων, ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱματίοις ξίφη, προῆγεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης. διενοεῖτο δὲ περιστῆσαι τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν αἰτεῖσθαι, ἢ μὴ πείσας πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαλυμῆσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ καθ' ὅποιαν Walton : καὶ πο. αν (s. acc.) V, καὶ ποιὰν Bekker, καὶ ποιὰν τοῦ Herwerden, καὶ πᾶσαν (or ὅποιαν) Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> So Herwerden : ἐπληροῦτο V, ἥξιοτο Dindorf.

motion would bring smiles to all who watched him, so winning was his natural appeal. In consequence he was enthusiastically welcomed by the Romans in their theatres, but the Picentines, wishing to deprive the Romans of this enjoyment and pleasure, had resolved to put him to death. Foreseeing what was about to happen he came on the stage soon after the comedian had been killed, and said : " Members of the audience, the omens are favourable. May the evil that has been done bring good fortune ! Know that I am no Roman, but, subject to the *fascēs* as you yourselves are, I traipse around Italy, peddling my graces in quest of merriment and laughter. Spare then the swallow that belongs to all men alike, to whom God has given the privilege of building her nest without risk in any man's house. It would be unfair for you to bring bitter tears upon yourselves." Continuing at length in a conciliatory and humorous vein, by the persuasive charm of his discourse he wheedled them out of their bitter and vengeful mood and thereby escaped the danger that threatened.

13. The Marsic leader Pompaedius<sup>1</sup> embarked on a grandiose and fantastic venture. Assembling ten thousand men drawn from the ranks of those who had occasion to fear judicial investigations, he led them on Rome, with swords concealed beneath their garb of peace. It was his intention to surround the senate with armed men and demand citizenship, or, if persuasion failed, to ravage the seat of empire

<sup>1</sup> The name appears in the MS. as Pompaeus.

<sup>3</sup> ὅμοιος ὑμῖν Herwerden.

<sup>4</sup> So Mai : φείσασθαι V. <sup>5</sup> διάλυσιν Dindorf.

<sup>6</sup> So Valesius : Πομπαῖος P.

ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> Γαῖον Δομίτιον καὶ ἐρο-  
μένου, Ποῖ προάγεις, Πομπαιδίε,<sup>2</sup> μετὰ τοσούτου  
πλήθους; εἶπεν, Εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν,  
κεκλημένος ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων. ὁ δὲ Δομίτιος  
ὑπολαβὼν ἔφησεν ἀκινδυνότερον αὐτὸν καὶ κάλλιον  
τεύξεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας, ἂν μὴ πολεμικῶς ἐπὶ τὴν  
σύγκλητον παραγένηται· ταύτην γὰρ βούλεσθαι τὴν  
χάριν δοῦναι τοῖς συμμάχοις μὴ βιασθεῖσαν ἀλλ'  
<sup>2</sup> ὑπομνησθεῖσαν. ὁ δὲ ἱεράν τινα τὴν συμβουλήν  
τάνδρὸς θέμενος καὶ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις ἐπανήλθεν  
ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν. Δομίτιος μὲν οὖν φρονίμοις λόγοις  
ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων ἐξήρπασε τὴν πατρίδα, πολὺ  
κρίττονα τὴν ὁμίλιαν ποιησάμενος τῆς γενομένης  
Σερουιλίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ πρὸς Πικεντίνους. ἐκεῖνος  
γὰρ οὐχ ὡς ἐλευθέρους καὶ συμμάχοις ὁμιλῶν, ἀλλ'  
ὡς δούλοις ἐνυβρίζων καὶ φόβῳ μεγάλῳ<sup>3</sup> ἀπειλαῖς  
παρώξυνεν τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων τιμωρίαν. οὗτος δὲ πεφρονηματισμέ-  
νων ἀποστατῶν ἀλόγους ὁρμὰς ἐπεικέσι λόγοις  
εἰς εὐνοίαν προετρέψατο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 318-319.)

14. Τῆς δὲ λείας τοῖς στρατιώταις μετέδωκαν,  
ὅπως τῆς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ὠφελείας οἱ διακινδυνεύ-  
σαντες γευσάμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνας  
ἐθελοντὴν ἀναδέχωνται.

<sup>1</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: αὐτοῦ P.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius: Πομπαιε P.

<sup>3</sup> φοβῶν μεγάλας Herwerden.

with fire and sword. Encountering Gaius Domitius,<sup>1</sup> who asked him, "Where are you going, Pompaedius, with so large a band?" he said, "To Rome, to get citizenship, at the summons of the tribunes."<sup>2</sup> Domitius retorted that he would obtain the citizenship with less risk and more honourably if he approached the senate in a manner which was not warlike; the senate, he said, was in favour of granting this boon to the allies, if instead of violence a petition was presented. Pompaedius took the man's advice as in some way sacred, and persuaded by what he said returned home. Thus by his prudent words Domitius rescued his country from grave danger, having proved far more effective in this interchange than the praetor Servilius<sup>3</sup> in his dealings with the Picentines. For the latter did not speak with them as to free men and allies, but treated them despitefully as slaves, and by his threats of fearful punishments spurred the allies to seek vengeance on him and the other Romans. Domitius, however, by speaking with moderation converted the unthinking impulses of spirited rebels into a sentiment of goodwill.

14. They shared the booty with the soldiers, so that by getting a taste of the profits of war the men who had experienced its perils would undertake the struggle for freedom with a willing heart.

<sup>1</sup> As the praenomen Gaius seems not to have been in use in the family of the Domitii, we should probably correct to Gnaeus. The man named here may be Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the consul of 96 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Pompaedius Silo was on friendly terms with Drusus, and on one occasion had visited at his house (Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Q. Servilius, sent as praetor to Asculum in 91 B.C. See the note on chap. 12, above.



15. Ὅτι ὁ Μάριος ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸ Σαμνιτῶν πεδῖον καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε. Πομπαίδιος δὲ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν παρειληφώς παρὰ τοῖς Μαρσοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. καὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων γενομένων τὸ σκυθρωπὸν τοῦ πολέμου εἰς εἰρηνικὴν μετέπεσε <sup>2</sup> διάθεσιν. εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν γὰρ ὅψεως ἔλθόντες οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις στρατιώται πολλοὺς μὲν ἰδιοξένους ἐπεγίνωσκον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ συστρατιώτας ἀνενοῦντο, συχνοὺς δὲ οἰκείους καὶ συγγενεῖς κατενόουν, οὓς ὁ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας νόμος ἐπειποιῆκει κοινωνῆσαι τῆς τοιαύτης φιλίας. διὸ καὶ τῆς συμπαθείας ἀναγκαζούσης προῖσθαι φωνὴν φιλάνθρωπον, ἀλλήλους ἐξ ὀνόματος προσηγόρευον καὶ παρεκάλουν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων μαιφονίας, τὰς δὲ ἐν προβολῇ πολεμικῶς διακειμένας πανοπλίας ἀποτιθέμενοι τὰς δεξιὰς ἐξέτεινον ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ <sup>3</sup> φιλοφρονούντες ἀλλήλους.<sup>1</sup> ἃ δὲ κατανόησας ὁ Μάριος καὶ αὐτὸς προῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως· ποιήσαντος<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πομπαίδιου τὸ παραπλήσιον διελέχθησαν ἀλλήλοις συγγενικῶς. πολλῶν δὲ λόγων γενομένων τοῖς ἡγεμόσι περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμουμένης πολιτείας, καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀμφοτέρων χαρὰς καὶ καλῶν ἐλπίδων πληρουμένων, ἡ πᾶσα σύνδοδος ἐκ πολεμικῆς τάξεως εἰς πανηγυρικὴν διάθεσιν μετέπεσε, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν<sup>3</sup> τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην προκα-

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: ἀλλήλοις V.

<sup>2</sup> So Mai: ποιήσαντες V. <sup>3</sup> στρατηγῶν Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> C. Marius served in 90 B.C. as a legate under Rutilius Lupus the consul until the latter's death, and was then given command of part and later of the whole of the consular

15. Marius<sup>1</sup> led his army into Samnite territory<sup>90 B.C.</sup> and encamped over against the enemy. Pompaedius, who had assumed full command of the Marsic forces, also advanced with his troops. As the armies came close to one another their grim belligerency gave way to peaceful feelings. For as they reached the point where features could be distinguished, the soldiers on both sides detected many personal friends, refreshed their memory of not a few former comrades in arms, and identified numerous relatives and kinsmen, that is to say, men whom the law governing intermarriage had united in this kind of friendly tie. Since their common bonds compelled them to give voice to friendly greetings, they called one another by name and exchanged exhortations to abstain from murdering men bound to them by close ties. Laying aside their weapons, which had been placed in hostile poses of defence, they held out their hands in sign of friendly greeting. Seeing this, Marius himself advanced from the battle line, and when Pompaedius had done the like they conversed with one another like kinsmen. When the commanders had discussed at length the question of peace and the longed-for citizenship, in both armies a tide of joyous optimism surged up and the whole encounter lost its warlike air and took on a festive appearance. And inasmuch as the soldiers<sup>2</sup> too had in private

army. The present story does not appear elsewhere, and in fact Plutarch, *Marius*, 33, reports a hostile exchange of taunts between Marius and Pompaedius (there called Publius Silo, probably a mistake for Quintus Silo). R. Gardner in *Cam. Anc. Hist.* 9. 192, note 2, comments on the geographical error in our text, as Marius fought in Marsic, not Samnite territory (but the error, being in the opening sentence, is probably to be ascribed to the excerptor, not to Diodorus).

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf emends to read "commanders."

λεσαμένων ἅπαντες ἀσμένως τῆς ἀλληλοφονίας ἀπελύθησαν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 397.)

16. "Ὅτι ἦν τις ἐν Ἀσκλῳ παραδεδομένος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰς φυλακὴν, ὄνομα μὲν Ἀγαμέμνων, Κίλιξ δὲ τὸ γένος, διὰ δὲ τίνα περιπέτειαν καὶ συμμάχων φόνους ἐζωγρημένος· ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν Πικεντίνων ἀπολυθεὶς ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν προθύμως ἐστρατεύετο. ληστείας δὲ πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔχων τὴν πολεμίαν χώραν κατέτρεχε μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ὁμοίων ταῖς παρανομίαις.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 319.)

17. Οὗτος γὰρ οὐ προγονικὴν δόξαν οὐδ' ἀφορμὴν ἰδίαν ἔχων εἰς προκοπῆς μέγεθος παραδόξως ἦλθεν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀξιώματός τε καὶ δόξης.

Ἐπιστρέφειν δὲ εἴωθεν ἡ τύχη πρὸς τὸ δέον καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἐτέρων ἀδικόν τι μηχανησαμένους τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιβάλλειν συμπτώμασι. . . . κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἴσως τυραννοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον ὑφέξουσιν τὰς τῶν τυραννικῶν ἀνομημάτων εὐθύνas.

18. Ὅτι Κρῆς ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς Ἰούλιον τὸν ὕπατον ἐπὶ προδοσίαν εἶπεν, "Ἄν δι' ἐμοῦ κρατήσης τῶν πολεμίων, τίνα δώσεις μισθὸν τῆς εὐεργεσίας; ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπε, Ποιήσω σε πολίτην Ῥωμαίων<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἔση παρ' ἐμοὶ τίμιος. ὁ δὲ Κρῆς διαχυθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ὄνομα μὲν Salmasius, Valesius: ὁ μὲν P, ὄνομα Büttner-Wobst.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius: πολλῆς P.

<sup>3</sup> Lacuna indicated by Dindorf. Boissevain suggests εἰ γὰρ καὶ, or that the sentence forms a separate fragment.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: Ῥωμαίων V.

<sup>1</sup> Valesius and others have interpreted συμμάχων φόνους as referring to the crimes of Agamemnon: "murders of

conversations been urging peace, they were all glad to be relieved of the necessity of mutual slaughter.

16. There was at Asculum, where he had been remanded by the Romans for confinement, a certain Cilician named Agamemnon, who through a sudden reverse in which his accomplices were cut down<sup>1</sup> had been taken alive. Having been released from prison by the Picentines, he was now, in gratitude, cheerfully serving in their army. And since he had much experience in brigandage, he overran the enemy's country with a band of soldiers his equals in lawlessness.

17. Despite the lack either of distinguished ancestry or of any personal advantages that might lead to success, he unexpectedly arrived at the pinnacle of dignity and fame.<sup>2</sup>

Fortune is wont to veer towards what is morally fitting, and to involve those who have contrived some injustice against others in the same difficulties themselves. . . . Perhaps for the present they exercise tyrannical power, but later they will have to render an accounting for their tyrannical crimes.

18. A Cretan came to the consul Iulius<sup>3</sup> with an offer of betrayal and said: "If I enable you to conquer the enemy, what reward will you give me for my services?" The general said: "I will make you a Roman citizen, and you will be honoured in my sight." Convulsed with laughter at this remark,

(Roman?) allies." Orosius, 5. 18. 10, identifies Agamemnon as a pirate. Cilicia was a notorious base for piracy.

<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain to whom this refers, or even if the man is Roman or an Italian.

<sup>3</sup> From the order of the fragments this must be L. Iulius Caesar, consul of 90 B.C., rather than Sex. Iulius Caesar, consul in the preceding year.

ρήθέντι, Πολιτεία, φησί, παρὰ Κρησὶν εὐφημού-  
μενός ἐστι λήρος. τοξεύομεν<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ  
κέρδος, καὶ πᾶν βέλος ἡμῶν χάριν καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἀργυρίου,  
νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν χώραν καὶ θάλατταν. διὸ καὶ γὰρ  
νῦν ἀργυρίου χάριν ἤκω· τὰ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας τίμια  
τοῖς περὶ ταύτης νῦν διαφερομένοις παραχώρει, οἵ-  
τινες αἵματος ἀγοράζουσι λήρον περιμάχητον. πρὸς  
ὃν γελάσας ὁ ἄλλος<sup>3</sup> εἶπε, Γενομένης ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπι-  
βολῆς χαρίσομαι<sup>4</sup> σοι χιλίας δραχμάς.

19. Ὅτι τοὺς δούλους διὰ τινος ἐπινοίας οἱ Αἰ-  
σερνῖται λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγον·  
πάντα γὰρ ἢ τῆς περιστάσεως ἰδιότης ἡνάγκαζε  
πράττειν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπωλείᾳ τὴν ἰδίαν περι-  
ποιεῖσθαι σωτηρίαν. οἱ δὲ οἰκέται δεινῇ καὶ παρ-  
ηλλαγμένη συμφορᾷ περιπεσόντες, ἀναχωρήσαντες<sup>5</sup>  
τὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ὠμότητα τῇ τῶν πολεμίων  
ἐπιεικείᾳ διωρθώσαντο.

2. Ὅτι τοὺς κύνας καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶα οἱ Αἰσερνῖται  
ἐσποιοῦντο· πάντα γὰρ ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη παρὰ  
τὸ καθήκον ποιεῖν ἡνάγκαζε, βιαζομένη τὴν ἀπε-  
γνωσμένην καὶ ἀσυνήθη τροφὴν προσφέρεισθαι.

3. Ὅτι αἱ ἀνθρώπινα ψυχὰι μετέχουσι θείας τινὸς  
φύσεως ἐνίοτε προκαταμαντευόμεναι τὰ μέλλοντα,  
καὶ κατὰ τινὰς φυσικὰς εἰδωλοποιίας προορῶνται  
τὸ συμβησόμενον. ὅπερ ταῖς τῶν Πιννητῶν γυναιξὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: τοξεύομενοι V.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ] τοῦ Mai. Dindorf deletes καὶ; Herwerden deletes  
καὶ πᾶν . . . ἀργυρίου.

<sup>3</sup> ὁ ἄλλος Post: ὁ ἄνθρωπος V, ὁ ἄνθρωπος Mai, Dindorf. Her-  
werden proposes ἀνὴρ, Boissevain ὁ ὑπάτος.

<sup>4</sup> χαρίσομαι Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

the Cretan said: "In the eyes of the Cretans citizenship is just high-sounding claptrap. Gain is what we aim at, and as we range over land and sea, every arrow we shoot is for ourselves and for the sake of money. So I too am here now to get money. Grant your reward of citizenship to the men who are now quarrelling over that very thing, and who are purchasing with blood this empty word for which men fight." The other laughed and said to him: "If our attempt is successful, I shall give you a thousand drachmas."

19. The people of Aesernia,<sup>1</sup> pressed by starva-  
tion, employed a ruse of some sort to get the slaves  
out of the city. Indeed, their particular situation  
drove them to stop at nothing, and to procure their  
own safety even at the cost of destroying others. The  
slaves, however, on being plunged into a strange and  
dreadful predicament, withdrew and found a remedy  
for the brutality of their masters in the consideration  
shown them by the enemy.

The people of Aesernia fed on dogs and other  
animals, for the compelling needs of nature drove  
them to disregard all proprieties, and forced them  
to accept the uncouth food which they had previ-  
ously spurned.

Men's souls have in them some admixture of a  
divine nature, whereby on occasion they have fore-  
bodings of the future, and through certain natural  
means of calling up images foresee what is about to  
happen. This is precisely what happened to the

<sup>1</sup> Aesernia, a Latin colony of 263 B.C., was an important  
road junction and was promptly attacked by the insurgents.  
Caesar and Sulla both attempted to relieve it, without success.

<sup>5</sup> ἀποχωρήσαντες Krebs, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.



συνέβη γενέσθαι· προκατωδύροντο γὰρ τὴν ἑσομένην συμφορὰν.

4 "Οτι τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν τὰ τέκνα τῶν Πιννητῶν ἅπαντα πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀγαγόντων καὶ ἀπειλούντων ταῦτα κατασφάττειν, ἔὰν μὴ ἀποστῶσιν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, οἱ Πιννήται ἐγκαρτεροῦντες τοῖς δεινοῖς ἔδωκαν ἀπόκρισιν ὅτι τέκνων στερηθέντες ἕτερα ῥαδίως ποιήσουσιν, ἔὰν τηρήσωσι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν.

5 "Οτι οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἰταλιῶται ἀπογνόντες τὴν ἐκ τῆς πειθοῦς σύλλυσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐπετελέσαντο πράξιν ὠμότητι διαφέρουσαν· προσαγαγόντες γὰρ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους τοὺς παῖδας προσέταττον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀναιρεῖσθαι δεῖσθαι τῶν πατέρων ἐλεῆσαι τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> γεγονότας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνοντας ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν πάντων ἐφορῶντα τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἥλιον σώσαι ψυχὰς νηπίων παίδων.  
(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 398-399.)

20. "Οτι οἱ Πιννήται δειναῖς συνείχοντο συμφοραῖς. ἀμετάπειστον δ' ἔχοντες τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν ἠναγκάζοντο κατεξανίστασθαι τῶν περὶ ψυχὴν παθῶν καὶ περιορᾶν τὰ τέκνα στερισκόμενα τοῦ ζῆν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν γεγεννηκότων.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 319.)

21. Τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς παραστήματα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὥστε μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλοις ὑπολείπεσθαι κατὰ τὰς τῶν δεινῶν ὑπομονάς. πολλαπλασίον δὲ ὄντων τῶν πολιορκούντων, τὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἑλλίπες τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολῇ προσανεπλήρουν.

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: σύλυσιν V.

<sup>2</sup> So Krebs: αὐτῶν V.

women of Pinna,<sup>1</sup> who bewailed in advance the calamity that was still in the future.

The Italians brought all the children of Pinna before the city walls, and threatened to slaughter them if the city would not revolt from Rome. The men of Pinna, however, steeled themselves and replied that if deprived of their children they should easily beget others, provided they were true to their alliance with Rome.

The same Italians, despairing of resolving the situation by persuasion, perpetrated an act of surpassing cruelty. They brought the children up close to the walls and ordered them, as they were about to be killed, to beseech their fathers to take pity on the children they had begotten, and with hands raised towards heaven to invoke the sun, who watches over all human affairs, to save the lives of helpless young children.

20. The people of Pinna were caught in a dreadful dilemma. Since they had a hard and fast alliance with Rome, they were compelled to detach themselves from their natural emotions and stand idly by while their children were put to death before the eyes of those who had begotten them.

21. Their desperate courage throughout the struggle was such that it left posterity no hope of surpassing them in the endurance of horrors. And though the besiegers outnumbered them many times over, the townsmen made up for their deficiency in numbers by an excess of courage.

<sup>1</sup> Pinna, a city of the Vestini, was racked by party strife but remained loyal to Rome. Probably the "Italians" of the two succeeding paragraphs were therefore, in part at least, natives of Pinna, a fact that would help to explain their possession of the city's children.

22. "Οτι οἱ μὲν Ἰταλιῶται πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἡγωνισμένοι λαμπρῶς, τότε περὶ τῆς ἰδίας κινδυνεύοντες ὑπερέβαλλον ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις τὰς προγεγενημένας νίκας, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ὑποτεταγμένους αὐτοῖς ἀγωνιζόμενοι δεινὸν<sup>1</sup> ἡγοῦντο φανῆναι τῶν ἡττόνων ἡττους.

Chaps. 22a and 22b: see below, after Books 38/9. 22.

23. "Οτι ὁ δὲ Λαμπώνιος ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κράσσον, ὑπολαμβάνων προσήκειν μὴ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους διαγωνίζεσθαι.

24. "Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἰταλιῶται περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδῆς διηγωνίζοντο. ἐπιθέσεων δὲ γενομένων καὶ συμπλοκῶν ἀλληλοκτονοῦντες οὐ διέλιπον. μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντες τὸν θεριζόμενον στάχυν διεκρίνοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους αἵματι περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἀνέμενε παράκλησιν ἡγεμόνος, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ προετρέπετο πρὸς τὴν ἀλκὴν, προβάλλουσα τὴν τῆς ἐνδείας ἀνάγκην. ὑπέμενε ἕκαστος εὐψύχως τὴν διὰ σιδήρου γινομένην<sup>2</sup> τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν, δεδιώς τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐνδείας θάνατον. (Const. Exc. 4, pp. 399-400.)

25. "Οτι ὁ Σύλλας τὰς πράξεις καλῶς ἐχείριζε<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐνεργῶς, καὶ δόξης καὶ καλῆς φήμης ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατηξιοῦτο, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτὸν ἄξιον ὑπάρχειν ὑπατον αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ περιβόητος ἦν ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ τε καὶ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει, καὶ καθόλου φανερός ὑπῆρχεν εἰς μείζον πρόσχημα δόξης προαχθισόμενος.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Herwerden: δεινὸν V. <sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: γενομένην V.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: ἐνεχείριζε P.

22. The Italians, who so many times before had fought with distinction on behalf of Rome's empire, were now risking life and limb to secure their own, and their feats of bravery went far beyond those of their former victories. The Romans, on the other hand, being engaged in a struggle against their former subjects, considered it a disgrace to appear inferior to their inferiors.

23. Lamponius rushed headlong at Crassus,<sup>1</sup> for he believed that it was appropriate, not that the masses should fight on behalf of their leaders, but rather that the leaders should fight for the masses.

24. The Romans and the Italians contested which were to harvest the crops. In skirmishes and hand-to-hand fighting the mutual slaughter continued without let up. Since the ripe ears were there before them, ready to be reaped, they settled with their blood the question who was to have the essential food. No one waited on the urging of his commander: nature itself, confronting them with the cold logic of deprivation, spurred them on to bravery. Each man stoutly faced the prospect of dying by the sword because he feared death by privation.

25. Sulla's conduct of affairs was effective and <sup>89 B.C.</sup> energetic, and he gained fame and a good reputation in Rome. The populace considered him worthy to be elected consul, and his name was on everyone's lips as a result of his courage and military skill. In short, it was quite evident that he was a man who would be elevated to some higher pinnacle of glory.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Licinius Crassus served as legate under the consul L. Caesar in 90 B.C. and was defeated in Lucania.

<sup>2</sup> On Sulla's achievements see above, chap. 2. 8.

<sup>4</sup> So Valesius: προαχθῆναι P.

26. "Οτι ὁ Μιθριδάτης τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν νικήσας καὶ πολλοὺς ζωγρήσας, ἅπαντας τιμήσας καὶ ἐσθῆσι καὶ ἐφοδίοις ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φιланθρωπίας, ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ὁρμὴ προστίθεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, παρὴν δὲ ὄρᾶν ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων πρεσβευτὰς μετὰ ψηφισμάτων καλούντων αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας καὶ θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα προσαγορευόντων. ἀκούσθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπῆντων αἱ πόλεις ἐκχεόμεναι πανδημεί μετ' ἐσθήτος λαμπρὰς καὶ πολλῆς χαρᾶς.

27. "Οτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπικρατοῦντος Μιθριδάτου καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀφισταμένων ἀκατασχέτως ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ διέγνωσαν οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀκίλλιον εἰς Μιτυλήνην συμπεφευγότα καὶ νοσοκομούμενον παραδοῦναι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. ἐπιλέξαντες οὖν τῶν νέων τοὺς ἀλκῇ διαφέροντας ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὸ κατάλυμα. οἱ δὲ ἄθροοι προσπεσόντες τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἀκίλλιον ἀρπάσαντες ἔδησαν, ὡς καλίστην τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ κεχαρισμένην δωρεὰν ἐκπέμψοντες.

<sup>2</sup> "Ο δέ, καίπερ νέος ὢν παντελῶς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιτελέσασθαι πρᾶξιν ἡρωικὴν· φθάσας

<sup>1</sup> τῆς . . . ἡγεμονίας] τοὺς . . . ἡγεμόνας Valesius, Vulgate.

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Mith.* 18-19, also reports, on three separate occasions, this politic conduct on the part of Mithridates. The prisoners were, of course, for the most part natives or inhabitants of the Greek cities in the province.

<sup>2</sup> M'. Aquillius had been sent to Asia in 89 B.C. at the head

26. Mithridates, having been victorious over the <sup>88 B.C.</sup> Roman command in Asia, and having taken many prisoners, presented them all with clothes and supplies for travel and sent them back to their own lands.<sup>1</sup> As the fame of this generous conduct was spread abroad, the cities were swept by an impulse to attach themselves to the king. Embassies were to be seen from all the cities, bearing decrees inviting him to their lands and hailing him as their "god and saviour." So, too, wherever the king appeared the cities poured forth bodily to meet him, their people clothed in festive garb and rejoicing greatly.

27. While Mithridates was gaining the ascendancy in Asia, and the cities, out of control, were revolting from Rome, the Lesbians decided not only to align themselves with the king, but also to arrest Aquillius,<sup>2</sup> who had sought refuge in Mitylenê and was under medical treatment, and hand him over to Mithridates. They accordingly selected some of their most valiant young men and sent them to his lodgings. They descended upon the place in a group, and seizing Aquillius put him in fetters, thinking that he would be a magnificent and welcome gift for them to send to the king.

He,<sup>3</sup> however, though a very young man, had the courage to perform an heroic deed. Forestalling the

of an embassy to restore the kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia to their thrones, whom he then incited to attack Mithridates. After his capture, Mithridates had him killed at Pergamum by pouring molten gold down his throat, as a rebuke to Roman greed (Appian, *Mith.* 21).

<sup>3</sup> The Greek text, continuing here without a break, would seem to refer this to Aquillius, who was, however, now in middle age (consul 101 B.C.). Possibly the young man was his son, but this suggestion, put forth by T. Reinach, is no more than a surmise.



γὰρ τοὺς μέλλοντας συναρπάζειν αὐτόν,<sup>1</sup> ἀντὶ τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς αἰσχρᾶς τιμωρίας ἠλλάξατο θάνατον. σφάζων γὰρ ἑαυτόν καὶ τῇ δεινότητι τῆς πράξεως καταπληξάμενος τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτόν ὀρμῶντας ἐποίησε μὴ τολμῆσαι πλησίον αὐτοῦ προσελθεῖν.<sup>2</sup> μετὰ πάσης δὲ ἀδείας ἑαυτόν ἀπαλλάξας τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τῶν ἐπιφερομένων κακῶν περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν ἐπ' εὐφυχίᾳ δόξαν.

28. Ὅτι καθόλου κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις πλὴν τοῦ πλήθους τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα μεγάλας εἶχεν ὑπεροχάς, τέχνη κυβερνητῶν, τάξις τῶν νηῶν, ἔρετῶν ἐμπειρία, δυνάμεις ἡγεμόνων, ἐπιβατῶν ἀρεταί· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Καππαδόξιν<sup>3</sup> ὑπῆρχον ἀπειρία καὶ ἀγυμνασίαι καὶ ἡ πάντων τῶν κακῶν παραιτία ἀταξία. προθυμία μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐλείποντο τῶν Ῥοδίων, ὡς ἂν ἔχοντες ἐπίσκοπον καὶ θεατὴν τῶν κινδύνων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τούτῳ σπεύδοντες ἐνδείκνυσθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν εὐνοίαν· μόνῳ δὲ ὑπερέχοντες τῷ πλήθει τῶν σκαφῶν περιεχέοντο τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς καὶ κυκλοῦντες εἰς μέσον αὐτὰς ἀπελάμβανον. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp. 319-321.)

29. Ὅτι ὁ Μάριος εἰς τὸν κάμπον καθ' ἡμέραν βαδίζων ἐγυμνάζετο πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρειάς· ἔσπευδε γὰρ τὴν τοῦ γήρως ἀσθένειαν καὶ βραδυτῆτα τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀθλήσει καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ πρὸς τούναντίον διορθώσασθαι. (Const. Exc. 4, p. 400.)

2 Ὅτι Γάιος Μάριος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιφανέστατος γεγονὼς ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς νεότητος ἐζήλωσεν ἀφιλαργυρίαν, τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ὀρεχθεὶς· καὶ μεγάλας

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: ἑαυτόν P.

<sup>2</sup> προσελθεῖν Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> So Valesius: καππαδοξί (s. acc.) P.

men who were about to arrest him, he chose death in preference to ill-usage and a shameful execution. He slew himself, and by this frightful act so stunned his assailants that they had no heart to appear near him. With utter fearlessness he departed this life with its approaching ills, and thereby gained widespread renown for his good courage.

28. In the fighting by sea<sup>1</sup> the Rhodians enjoyed, in general, great superiority in everything but numbers: in the skill of their pilots, the marshalling of their ships, the experience of their oarsmen, the ability of their commanders, and the bravery of their marines. On the Cappadocian side, however, there was a lack of experience, a lack of training, and (the accessory cause of all troubles) a lack of discipline. In zeal, to be sure, they did not fall short of the Rhodians, inasmuch as the king was present in person to supervise and observe the fighting, and they were eager to demonstrate their loyalty to him. Since it was only in the number of their ships that they excelled, they swarmed about the enemy ships and sought to encircle and cut them off.

29. Marius walked every day to the Campus Martius and engaged in military exercises, for he was concerned to correct the weakness and sluggishness of old age by daily and industrious participation in athletics.<sup>2</sup>

In his younger days Gaius Marius, a man who attained the highest prominence, had aspired to noble achievements and had rigorously avoided all

<sup>1</sup> See Appian, *Mith.* 24-26, for the naval engagements in Mithridates' assault on Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Plutarch, *Marius*, 34. 3, who relates this in connection with Marius' ambitions for the eastern command.

πράξεις ἐπὶ τε τῆς Λιβύης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης κατεργασάμενος περιεποιήσατο τὴν περιβόητον ἐπιφάνειάν τε καὶ δόξαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐσχάτου γήρως ἐπιθυμήσας τὸν Μιθριδάτου τοῦ βασιλέως πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεσιν εὐπορίαν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον μετενεγκεῖν βίον τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπαισε· τὴν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ προϋπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν κατήσχυνε καὶ τοῦ Σύλλα Κορνηλίου τὴν δεδομένην ἐπαρχίαν παραιρούμενος παρανόμως τῇ προσηκούσῃ  
 3 περιέπεσε συμφορᾷ. οὐ μόνον γὰρ<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἐπιθυμηθέντα πλοῦτον οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν προσαπέβαλε, δημοευθείσης<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ τῆς ὑπάρξεως διὰ τὴν τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑπερβολήν. καταγνωσθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος θανάτῳ καὶ διαδράς τὴν παραντίκα τιμωρίαν ἡλᾶτο κατὰ τὴν χώραν μόνος φεύγων. καὶ τέλος ἐξέπεσε τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν Νομαδίαν ἄδουλος,<sup>3</sup> ἄπορος, ἔρημος φίλων.<sup>4</sup> ὥστερον δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐμπεσούσης εἰς πολέμους ἐμφυλίου, συνεργήσας τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος πολεμίοις<sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἠρκέσθη τῇ καθόδῳ, πόλεμον δὲ ἐκκαύσας καὶ τυχὼν ὑπατείας τὸ ἑβδομον οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἔτι τῆς τύχης λαβεῖν πείραν, δεδιδαγμένος περὶ τῆς κατ'  
 4 αὐτὴν ἀβεβαιότητος μεγάλοις συμπτώμασι. προορώμενος γὰρ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα πόλεμον ἐπικρεμáμενον τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐκουσίως. ἀπολυτῶν δὲ ἀρχὰς μεγάλας πολέμων

<sup>1</sup> So Herwerden : δὲ P.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ after δημοευθείσης deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> So Reiske : δοῦλος P.

<sup>4</sup> So Valesius : σφῶν P. <sup>5</sup> So Valesius πολέμοις P.

avarice ; and both in Libya and Europe he accomplished great deeds, whereby he won for himself far-famed distinction and renown. But in his extreme old age, seized with a desire to bring into his own hands the wealth of King Mithridates and the riches of the Asiatic cities, he suffered total ruin, for he brought disgrace on the high good fortune he had previously enjoyed, and in the attempt to wrest illegally from Cornelius Sulla the province assigned to him brought down appropriate misfortune upon himself.<sup>1</sup> Not only did he not obtain the wealth he coveted, but lost in addition what he already had, since as a result of his excessive greed all he possessed was confiscated. Condemned to death by his fatherland, he did indeed escape immediate execution but only to wander alone and hunted about the country, and was finally driven out of Libya<sup>2</sup> to seek refuge in Libyan Numidia, without attendants, without means, without friends. Later, when Rome became involved in civil dissensions, he assisted the enemies<sup>3</sup> of his country, and not content merely to return home from exile, kindled the flames of war. And though he obtained<sup>86 B.C.</sup> a seventh consulship, he did not venture to tempt Fortune further, his serious reverses having brought him to a realization of her fickle nature. Foreseeing that an attack upon Rome by Sulla was impending, he departed from life of his own volition. Yet since

<sup>1</sup> In general, with the present narrative (to the death of Marius), cp. Plutarch, *Marius*, 34-46, and Appian, *B.C.* 1. 55-75.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. proconsular Africa : cp. Plutarch, *Marius*, 40, and Appian, *B.C.* 1. 62.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to his support of Cinna after the latter's expulsion from the consulate and from Rome.

αἴτιος ἐγένετο τῷ τε υἱῷ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀκληρημάτων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς πολεμεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι κατέστρεψεν ἀτυχῶς τὸν βίον συμπεφευγὼς ἐν τῇ διώρυγι, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίας πόλεις ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τὸν πάλαι προκείμενον πόλεμον ταῖς προκατε-  
 5 σκευασμέναις περιέπεσον συμφοραῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιφανέστατοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Σκαιονόλαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ Κράσσον φημί, ἐν συγκλήτῳ μαιφονηθέντες ἀκρίτως προεσήμηναν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀτυχίαις τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐσομένων κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀτυχημάτων· οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀνῆρέθησαν, στρατιῶται δὲ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι καὶ μάχαις κατεκόπησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δέκα μυριάδων. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα συνέβη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμηθέντα πλοῦτον ὑπὸ Μαρίου.

(Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp. 321-322.)

30. Ὅτι ὁ περιμάχητος ἀνθρώποις πλοῦτος μέγαις περιβάλλει συμφοραῖς ἐνίοτε τοὺς ἐπιθυμῶντας αὐτοῦ μεταλαβεῖν· προτρεπόμενος γὰρ εἰς ἀδήλους<sup>2</sup> καὶ παρανόμους πράξεις, καὶ χορηγὸς γινόμενος πάσης ἀκρατοῦς ἡδονῆς, τοὺς ἀφρόνας χειραγωγεῖ<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἔργων. τοιγαροῦν ὁρᾷν ἔστι τοὺς τοιοῦτους αὐτοὺς μὲν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀκληρήμασι περιπίπτοντας, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι τῶν  
 2 ἀτυχημάτων γινομένων αἰτίους. τοσαύτην ὁ χρυσὸς ἔχει δύναμιν ἐπὶ κακῷ προτιμώμενος ἀφρόνως παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, οὔτινες διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπιθυμίας παρ' ἕκαστα προφέρονται

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling : Σκευολαν (s. acc.) P. <sup>2</sup> ἀδίκους Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> So Geel : χωρεῖ V, ὠθεῖ Mai, δονεῖ Wifstrand.

he left in his wake abundant seeds of war, he brought upon both his son and his fatherland the most dire calamities. The son, compelled to do battle against superior forces, perished miserably after seeking vain refuge in the underground tunnel.<sup>1</sup> Rome and the cities of Italy plunged into the long impending conflict, and suffered the disasters that stood ready and waiting for them. For example, the most outstanding men of Rome, I mean Scaevola<sup>2</sup> and Crassus,<sup>3</sup> were cruelly murdered without trial in the senate house, and their private misfortunes provided a foretaste of the great woes that were to descend upon all Italy. Indeed, the majority of the senators and men of distinction were put to death by Sulla and his party, and in the course of the struggles and dissensions no fewer than a hundred thousand soldiers were slain. All this befell mankind because of the wealth that Marius had so coveted at the beginning.

30. Wealth, which is so great a source of contention to mankind, sometimes brings grievous misfortunes upon those who covet it. It prompts men to dark and lawless deeds, panders to every licentious pleasure, and guides the heedless into unworthy conduct. Accordingly we see men of this sort involve themselves in great calamities, and also bring down disasters upon their cities. So great is wealth's power for evil when it is fondly esteemed above all else ! Yet in their excessive eagerness to possess it

<sup>1</sup> At Praenestê, in 82 B.C., the year of his consulship.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Mucius Scaevola (see above, on chap. 5) was killed in 82 B.C. by order of the consul, the younger Marius : see Books 38/9. 17. Scaevola was at this time *pontifex maximus*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably P. Licinius Crassus (consul in 97 B.C.), who perished, together with his son, during the reign of terror in 87 B.C.



τούτους τοὺς στίχους τῶν ποιητῶν,

ὦ χρυσέ, δεξιῶμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,  
ὥς οὔτε μήτηρ ἡδονᾶς . . .<sup>1</sup>

καὶ πάλιν,

ἔα με κερδαίνοντα κεκλήσθαι κακόν,  
καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν μελῶν πεποιημένα,  
ὦ χρυσέ, βλάστημα χθονός,  
οἶον ἔρωτα βροτοῖσι φλέγεις,  
πάντων κράτιστε, πάντων<sup>2</sup> τύραννε.  
πολεμοῦσι<sup>3</sup> δ' Ἄρεως  
κρείσσον' ἔχων δύναμιν,  
πάντα θέλγεις· ἐπὶ γὰρ Ὀρφεύῃς μὲν ᾠδαῖς  
εἶπετο δένδρεα καὶ  
θηρῶν<sup>4</sup> ἀνόητα γένη,  
σοὶ δὲ καὶ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ πόντος καὶ ὁ παμ-  
μήστωρ Ἄρης.

3 καίτοι γε πόσω κρεῖττον ἔστιν ἐκφέρεσθαι<sup>5</sup> τῶν  
ποιημάτων τὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχοντα τούτοις παρὰ-  
κλῆσιν,

πότνια<sup>6</sup> σοφία, σύ μοι ἄνδανε·  
ὄλβου δ' ἐμοὶ μὴ χρυσέου φαεινὰν<sup>7</sup>  
ἄκτινα δαίμων διδοίη  
πάρος σοφίας ἢ τυραννίδα.  
Διὸς ἀπωτάτω<sup>8</sup>  
κεῖται καλὸς θησαυρὸς ὅτ' προσέβα.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 400-401.)

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: ἡδο V (cp. Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, Euripides, fr. 324).

<sup>2</sup> κράτιστε, πάντων] κρατιστεύων Nauck.

<sup>3</sup> So V (Boissevain): earlier editors read πολεμεῖς.

men constantly recite these verses of the poets :

" O gold, fairest gift received by mortals !  
Such delights neither a mother . . . " <sup>1</sup>

or again :

" Let me be called a scoundrel, so I but gain " <sup>2</sup> ;

and the lyric verses :

" Gold, offshoot of earth,  
What passion you kindle among mortals,  
Mightiest of all, monarch of all !  
For men at war your strength  
outstrips the strength of Ares ;  
All things feel your spell. At Orpheus' songs  
Trees followed and  
the witless race of beasts :  
You, however, draw after you the whole earth  
and sea and all-devising Ares." <sup>3</sup>

Yet how much better it would be to cull from the  
poets lines that have just the opposite message :

" Lady Wisdom, be my delight.  
May the gods not bestow upon me,  
Sooner than wisdom's self, tyranny  
Or the bright gleam of golden riches.  
Farthest from Zeus stands he  
To whom fair treasure has come nigh." <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of a much-quoted passage from the *Danaë* of Euripides (fr. 324 Nauck).

<sup>2</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, fr. adesp. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, fr. adesp. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, fr. adesp. 130.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: θηρίων V.

<sup>5</sup> προφέρεσθαι Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> πότνι' ὦ Hermann.

<sup>7</sup> So Dindorf: χρυσίου φαναν (s. acc.) V.

<sup>8</sup> So Mai: ἀπώτατα V.

FRAGMENTA LIBRORUM XXXVIII  
ET XXXIX

5. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ ἐμφύλιος ἀνεφάνη πόλεμος β' καὶ ξ' καὶ χ' [ἔτει, βραχὺ] μετὰ τὸν ἀν. 3. θ. 18. καθ' ὃ ἡ π[ρὸς Μιθρι]δάτην ἤρξατο Ῥωμαίοις ἀπ[έχθει]α.<sup>1</sup> ἐπισημῆναι<sup>2</sup> δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν φορὰν ἄ[λλα τε]<sup>3</sup> πολλὰ Λιβιός τε καὶ Διόδωρος ιστόρησαν καὶ ἐξ ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγγος, ὅξυν ἀποτεινούσης καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἔκφρονas ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν<sup>4</sup> μάντις μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποφῆμασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὀκτὼ γένη, διαφερόντων<sup>5</sup> τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀλλήλων· ἐκάστω δὲ ἀφωρίσθαι<sup>6</sup> χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ. τῆς δ' οὖν<sup>7</sup> προτέρας περιόδου τελευτώσης καὶ ἑτέρας ἀνισταμένης<sup>8</sup> κινεῖσθαι<sup>9</sup> τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ἧ<sup>10</sup> δῆλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα<sup>11</sup> σοφοῖς

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed supplements are by Lambros.

<sup>2</sup> So Suidas: ἐπι... γα L (=Codex Athous 4932).

<sup>3</sup> So Lambros, from Planudes. <sup>4</sup> Τυρρηνῶν L.

<sup>5</sup> So L, Planudes: διαφέροντα Suidas, Plutarch.

<sup>6</sup> ἀφορίσαι L. <sup>7</sup> δ' οὖν L, Planudes: γοῦν Suidas.

<sup>8</sup> So Planudes (ἀ...σταμένης L): ἐνισταμένης Suidas, Plutarch. <sup>9</sup> κινεῖσαι L.

<sup>10</sup> So Bekker: ἧ L, Planudes, δ Suidas, ὡς Plutarch.

<sup>11</sup> τὰ τοιαῦτα Suidas, Plutarch: τὰ αὐτὰ L, Planudes.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXXVIII  
AND XXXIX

5. Then came the outbreak of the civil war, in the 88 B.C. 662nd<sup>1</sup> year, soon after the . . . which gave rise to Rome's hatred for Mithridates. The onset of the impending troubles was portended, as Livy and Diodorus relate,<sup>2</sup> by many signs; in particular, out of a clear and cloudless sky the sound of a great trumpet was heard, prolonging a shrill and mournful note. All who heard it were beside themselves with fear, and the Etruscan soothsayers declared that the portent betokened a change in the race and a new world order. There were, they said, eight races of men, each different from the others in manners and customs. To each of them God has assigned an age, whose completion coincides with the period of a great year. Whenever the old period draws to an end and a new one is coming to birth, some wondrous sign is sent forth from earth or heaven, whereby it is at once evident to those who are learned in such matters that

<sup>1</sup> John of Antioch and Plutarch both assign the portent recorded in this passage to the first consulship of Sulla (88 B.C.), and the passage therefore belongs either here or near the end of Book 37. The error in dating, 662 A.U.C. for 666, derives from Eutropius (5. 4), John of Antioch's chief source for this period. Julius Obsequens, 57, records a somewhat similar portent in 83 B.C. (cp. also Appian, *B.C.*, 1. 83).

<sup>2</sup> Despite the express citation, it is clear that John of Antioch's immediate source was Plutarch. Cp. *Historia*, 14 (1965), 240-244.

γίνεσθαι ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἀνθρωποὶ  
 χρώμενοι γεγόνασιν καὶ θεοῖς ἤττον<sup>1</sup> τῶν προτέρων  
 μέλοντες.<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως  
 ἔχει σκοπεῖν παρήμι, καίτοι λαβόντος ἐκ τῶν ἐπι-  
 γενομένων πιθανότητά τινα τοῦ λόγου. τῷ γὰρ  
 ὄντι ἐκ τοῦδε τὰ Ῥωμαίων λογιζομένῳ ἢ τε πολι-  
 τεία πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἅπανα μεταπέπτωκε καὶ ἀνθρω-  
 ποι φαύλοις χρησάμενοι τρόποις ἤνθησαν.

(Joannes Antiochenus, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 1  
 (1904), pp. 17-18; cp. *Exc. Planudea*, 37,<sup>3</sup> Suidas,  
 s.v. Σύλλας, Plutarch, *Sulla*, 7. 6-9.)

1. "Ὅτι ἀπεστάλησαν πρεσβευταὶ πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν  
 Ῥωμαίων περὶ συλλύσεως· οἷς ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν  
 ὡς<sup>4</sup> ὑπατος ἐξεληλυθὼς<sup>5</sup> οὐ προσεδέξατο<sup>6</sup> τὴν ἐπ-  
 ἰνοδον ἐν ἰδιώτου σχήματι ποιήσασθαι.

2. "Ὅτι ὕστερον τοῦ Μετέλλου μεθ' ἧς εἶχε δυνά-  
 μειως πλησιάσαντος τῇ τοῦ Κίννα παρεμβολῇ καὶ  
 συνελθόντος εἰς λόγους, συνεφώνησεν ὥστε στρατη-  
 γὸν εἶναι τὸν Κίνναν, καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Μέτελλος  
 ὠνόμασε στρατηγόν. ἀμφοτέρω δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχ-  
 θεῖσι κατηγορίας ἡξιώθησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μάριος  
 κατὰ πρόσωπον γενόμενος ἔφησε δεῖν σχεδὸν ἡδὴ

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch adds ἡ μάλλον after ἤττον.

<sup>2</sup> So Plutarch: μέλλοντες L, Planudes, μέλονται Suidas.

<sup>3</sup> In Boissevain's edition of Cassius Dio, vol. 1 (Berlin,  
 1905), p. cxxi.

<sup>4</sup> So Boissevain: ὁ V, ὅτι Herwerden.

<sup>5</sup> ὡς after ἐξεληλυθὼς deleted by Herwerden.

<sup>6</sup> προσεδέξατο Herwerden.

<sup>1</sup> The Etruscan doctrine, as set forth by Censorinus, *De  
 die natali*, 17. 5-6, held that each people was assigned a  
 given number of *saecula*, ten in the case of the Etruscans  
 themselves. The length of each successive *saeculum* was  
 determined by the life span of the longest-lived inhabitant.  
 The new age that began in 88 B.C. was either the eighth or,

men have now appeared on earth whose ways and  
 manners are different, and who are of less concern  
 to the gods.<sup>1</sup> Whether this is so or not I omit to  
 inquire, though the argument gains a certain plausi-  
 bility from the sequel of events. For indeed, if one  
 considers the history of Rome from this point on, the  
 body politic changed altogether for the worse and  
 men of evil ways flourished.

1. Emissaries of the Roman people were sent to <sup>87 B.C.</sup>  
 Cinna<sup>2</sup> to arrange a settlement. He replied, how-  
 ever, that since he had left the city as its consul he did  
 not expect to return in the status of a private citizen.

2. Later Metellus<sup>3</sup> with such forces as he still  
 possessed approached the encampment of Cinna,  
 and after conferring with him agreed to recognize  
 Cinna as consul,<sup>4</sup> Metellus being the first to address  
 him by that title. Both men were subjected to  
 denunciation on this score. Marius, on encounter-  
 ing Cinna, told him to his face that with victory all

less probably, the ninth: cp. K. Latte, *Philologus*, 87 (1932),  
 269. It is difficult to say how faithful our passage is to the  
 authentic Etruscan doctrine and to what extent, if at all, it is  
 coloured by reminiscences of the Hesiodic Five Ages. The  
 fact that our text, in contrast to that of Plutarch, implies an  
 inevitable deterioration in each succeeding age is probably  
 not significant.

<sup>2</sup> L. Cornelius Cinna, consul from 87 to 84 B.C., was  
 originally elected as a creature of Sulla, but once in office  
 attempted to recall Marius and the exiles and was expelled  
 from Rome by his colleague Octavius. He joined forces with  
 Marius and soon put the city in jeopardy. For the confer-  
 ence reported here see Appian, *B.C.* 1. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius. He had returned to Rome,  
 probably from Samnium, to oppose the Marians. A rather  
 different account of this second conference (if the same one)  
 is given in Appian, *B.C.* 1. 70, and Plutarch, *Marius*, 43. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The word used here is *στρατηγός*, not *ὑπατος*, but this may  
 be the fault of the excerptor.



νενικηκότα μὴ καταλύειν τὴν δεδομένην αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐξουσίαν· ὁ δὲ Μέτελλος ὡς ἀνέκαμψεν, εἰς μεγάλην ἦλθε διάστασιν πρὸς τὸν Ὀκτάουιον, οἶον<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>προδότης ὦν τῶν τε ὑπάτων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ Ὀκτάουιος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ συγχωρήσειν ἑαυτὸν ἔφη καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τὴν Κίννου δεσποτεῖαν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν πάντες αὐτὸν καταλίπωσιν,<sup>3</sup> ὅμως ἑαυτὸν διατηρήσειν ἄξιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ μετὰ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ φρονούντων . . .<sup>4</sup> εἰ δὲ ἀπογνῶ πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὑφάψει μὲν τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, συγκατακαύσειν δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας οὐσίας καὶ τὸν μετ' ἐλευθερίας θάνατον εὐγενῶς ἀναδέξασθαι.<sup>4</sup> (Const. Exc. 4, p. 401.)

3. Ὅτι Μερόλας ὁ αἰρεθεὶς ὕπατος εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κίννα τόπον μετὰ τὸ σύνθεσιν ποιήσασθαι τὸ μὴ περαιτέρον<sup>5</sup> ὑπατεῦσαι ἔδοξε πρᾶξιν ἀγαθοῦ σφόδρα πολίτου πρᾶξαι. ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ διαλεγόμενος περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων, ἀρχηγὸς ἐπηγγείλατο γενέσθαι<sup>6</sup> τῆς ὁμονοίας· ἄκων γὰρ ἡρημένος ὕπατος ἐκονσίως ἔφη παραχωρήσειν τῷ Κίννῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ παραχρῆμα ιδιότης ἐγένετο. ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ποιησόμενους τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τὸν Κίνναν ὕπατον εἰσαφέροντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 322.)

4. Ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὸν Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον συνεδρεύσαντες μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύοντο ὅπως βεβαίως καταστήσωσι τὴν εἰρήνην·

<sup>1</sup> οἶον added by Boissevain.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: καταλείπωσιν V.

<sup>3</sup> Lacuna indicated by Dindorf. Herwerden reads ἀνευ for μετὰ.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: ἀναδέξασθαι V.

<sup>5</sup> μὴ περαιτέρον Walton: δήπερ αὐτὸν P, μήπερ αὐτὸν Valesius, [τὸ] ἐφ' ᾧπερ αὐτὸν Madvig.

<sup>6</sup> γενήσεσθαι Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

but won he ought not to be undermining the power that the gods had granted them, while Metellus, on his return, had a violent disagreement with Octavius,<sup>1</sup> who called him a traitor to the consuls and to his country. Octavius declared that under no circumstances would he allow himself and the city of Rome to fall a prey to Cinna. And even if everyone deserted him, he would still remain true to his high office, and with men of like mind would. . . . But if he lost all hope he would set fire to his own house and perish in the flames together with all his personal effects, and with honour intact would submit voluntarily to death while still enjoying liberty.

3. Merula,<sup>2</sup> the man who had been chosen consul to replace Cinna, was considered to have acted as a thoroughly good citizen would, once the agreement had been reached that he should no longer hold the consulship. Speaking both in the senate and before the people on the best course of action for the state, he offered his services as promoter of concord: as it had been against his wishes that he was made consul, so now of his own free will he would cede the office to Cinna. So in an instant he returned to private life. The senate then dispatched emissaries<sup>3</sup> to conclude the agreement and to escort Cinna into the city as its consul.

4. Cinna and Marius met with the most eminent leaders to consider how to establish the peace on a

<sup>1</sup> Cn. Octavius, the other consul of 87 B.C., who was killed in office after the return of Cinna and Marius.

<sup>2</sup> L. Cornelius Merula, the *flamen Dialis*, who as *consul suffectus* in place of Cinna held office for part of 87 B.C. When brought to trial by the Marians he committed suicide.

<sup>3</sup> If this is the embassy described in chap. 2, the order of the two fragments should be reversed.

τέλος ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ δυναμένους ἀμφισβητῆσαι πραγμάτων πάντας ἀποκτείνειν, ὅπως καθαρὰς γενομένης τῆς ἰδίας αἰρέσεως καὶ μερίδος ἀδεῶς τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ὡς ἂν βούλωνται μετὰ τῶν φίλων διοικῶσι τὰ κατὰ 2 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. εὐθὺς οὖν τῶν μὲν γεγενημένων συνθέσεων καὶ πίστεων ἡμέλησαν, σφαγαὶ δὲ τῶν καταψήφισθέντων αὐτοῖς ἄκριτοι καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐγίνοντο. Κόνιος δὲ Λουτάτιος ὁ Κάτλος, τεθρι-  
αμβευκῶς μὲν ἐπισήμως ἀπὸ Κίμβρων, ἀγαπώ-  
μενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν περιττότερον, ὑπὸ τινος  
δημάρχου κατηγορίας ἐτύγχανεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ 3 θανάτου. φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς σκοφαντίας κίνδυνον ἦκεν εἰς τὸν Μάριον, δεόμενος τυχεῖν βοηθείας. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἐγεγόνει φίλος, τότε δ' ἐκ τινος ὑποψίας ἄλλοτρίως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτο μόνον ἀπεκρίθη, Θανεῖν δεῖ. καὶ ὁ Κάτλος ἀπογνοὺς μὲν τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας, σπεύδων δὲ χωρὶς ὕβρεως καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον, ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησεν ἰδίῳ τινὶ καὶ παρηγλαγμένῳ τρόπῳ· συγκλείσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς οἶκον νεόχριστον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κονίας ἀναφορὰν πυρὶ καὶ καπνῷ συναυξήσας τῇ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς φθορᾷ περιπνιγῆς γενόμενος μετήλλαξεν.

(Photius, *Bibl.* p. 381 B.)

Chap. 5 : see above, before Chap. 1.

6. "Ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πολιτῶν σφαγαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπίνων παρανομίαις ταχέως ἐκ θεῶν τις Κίνα καὶ Μαρίῳ ἠκολούθησε νέμεσις. Σύλλας γάρ,

<sup>1</sup> Catulus had been the colleague of Marius in the consulate of 102 B.C. For his death see also Appian, *B.C.* 1. 74.

<sup>2</sup> As a sequel to his account of the Marian reign of terror,

firm basis. The decision at which they finally arrived was to put to death the most prominent of their opponents, all in fact who were capable of challenging their power. Thus, when their own party and faction had been purged, they and their friends could thenceforth conduct their administration without fear and to suit themselves. Accordingly they immediately disregarded their sworn agreements and pledges, and the men marked for death were slaughtered right and left without a hearing. Quintus Lutatius Catulus,<sup>1</sup> who had triumphed signally over the Cimbri and was held in particular affection by his fellow citizens, found himself accused before the people by a certain tribune of a capital crime. Fearing the risk involved in this legal trumpery, he turned to Marius with a request for aid. Marius, though in times past his friend, had now, because something aroused his suspicion, turned against him, and gave as his only answer: "You must die." Catulus, left with no hope of survival, but anxious to end his days without being subjected to base indignities, took his departure from life in a quite original and extraordinary manner. Locking himself in a freshly plastered room, he intensified the fumes from the lime with fire and smoke, and by suffocating himself in the noxious vapours ended his days.

6. In consequence of their butchery of the citizens and their monstrous crimes a divinely appointed Nemesis pursued Cinna and Marius.<sup>2</sup> For Sulla,

p. 301

Diodorus in this fragment gives a summary of the future course of the civil war. Mithridates accepted Sulla's terms at Dardanus, 85 B.C., but Sulla did not return home to Italy until 83 B.C. By then both Marius and Cinna were dead: Marius died early in his seventh consulship, on January 13, 86 B.C. (cp. Book 37. 29. 4), Cinna was murdered in 84 B.C.

εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπολειφθεῖς, περὶ τὴν Βοιω-  
τίαν τὰς Μιθριδάτου δυνάμεις κατακόψας καὶ τὰς  
Ἀθήνας ἐκπολιορκήσας, εἰτα Μιθριδάτην σύμμαχον  
ποιησάμενος καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν στόλον ἐπ-  
ανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐν ἁκαρεῖ δὲ χρόνῳ  
κατακόψας τὰς περὶ Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον δυνάμεις  
κύριος ἐγένετο πάσης Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας, καὶ  
πάντας τοὺς μετὰ Κίννα μαιφονήσαντας ἀπέσφαξεν,  
καὶ τὴν Μαριανὴν συγγένειαν<sup>1</sup> ἐκ βάθρων ἤρε. διὸ  
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν μετρίων ἀνδρῶν τὴν τῶν προ-  
καταρξάντων τῆς μαιφονίας τιμωρίαν εἰς τὴν τῶν  
θεῶν πρόνοιαν ἀνέπεμπον· κάλλιστον γὰρ παρά-  
δειγμα<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἀσεβῇ βίον αἰρουμένοις πρὸς διόρθωσιν  
κακίας ἀπελέλειπτο. (Const. Exc. 4, p. 402.)

7. Ὅτι ὁ Σύλλας χρημάτων ἀπορούμενος ἐπέβαλε  
τὰς χεῖρας τρισὶν ἱεροῖς, ἐν οἷς ἀναθημάτων ἄργυ-  
ρῶν τε καὶ χρυσῶν πλήθος ἦν, ἐν μὲν Δελφοῖς  
τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καθιερωμένα,<sup>3</sup> ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ δὲ τῷ  
Ἀσκληπιῷ, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ τῷ Δίῳ. πλείστα δὲ  
ἔλαβεν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας διὰ τὸ μεμενηκέναι τὸ ἱερὸν  
τοῦτο ἄσυλον ἐξ αἰῶνος· τῶν γὰρ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρη-  
μάτων Φωκεῖς τὰ πλείστα διεφόρησαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
κληθέντι πολέμῳ. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας πολὺν ἄργυρον καὶ  
χρυσόν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἄλλην πολυτελεῆ κατασκευὴν  
ἀναλαβὼν ἤθροισε χρημάτων πλήθος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν  
Ἰταλίᾳ προσδοκωμένους πολέμους. ἀδεισιδαι-  
μόνως δὲ τῇ λήψει τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων προσενε-  
χθεῖς χώραν ἀντὶ τούτων καθιέρωσε τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς  
τὰς κατ' ἔτος προσόδους. εὐτραπελεύμενος δὲ

<sup>1</sup> συντέλειαν Dindorf<sup>4</sup>, corr.

<sup>2</sup> παράδειγμα added by Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> καθιερωμένων Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

their one surviving opponent, after cutting to pieces  
the forces of Mithridates in Boeotia and forcing  
Athens to capitulate, made an ally of Mithridates,  
and taking over the king's fleet returned home to  
Italy. In a trice he smashed the forces of Cinna  
and Marius and brought the whole of Rome and  
Italy into his power. He had the whole murderous  
crew of Cinna's men put to the sword, and utterly  
wiped out the Marian brood. Hence many of the  
moderates imputed the punishment of the men who  
had inaugurated the reign of terror to the workings  
of divine Providence, inasmuch as a most excellent  
object lesson had been bequeathed to those who  
elect an impious course, to turn them from the ways  
of wickedness.

7. Sulla, being in need of money, laid hands on  
three sanctuaries that possessed a wealth of offer-  
ings in gold and silver: those consecrated to Apollo  
at Delphi, to Asclepius at Epidaurus, and to Zeus  
at Olympia.<sup>1</sup> His largest haul was at Olympia, since  
that sanctuary had remained inviolate through the  
ages, whereas most of the treasures at Delphi had  
been plundered by the Phocians during the so-called  
"Sacred War." Sulla, by appropriating large  
amounts of gold and silver, and any other objects  
of value, amassed ample funds for the anticipated  
war in Italy. And though he showed no scruples  
in seizing the sacred treasures, in their stead he  
did consecrate land to the gods to provide them an  
annual revenue.<sup>2</sup> He would say in jest that his

<sup>1</sup> See also Plutarch, *Sulla*, 12, who adds many details.  
The seizures occurred during Sulla's siege of Athens, in 87  
(or 87/6) B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The land so consecrated was half the territory of Thebes  
(Plutarch, *Sulla*, 19. 6; Pausanias, 9. 7. 6).



ἀπεφαίνετο κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ πάντως διὰ τὸ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῷ συνεργεῖν, εἰσεννοχότας χρημάτων πολὺ τι πλῆθος αὐτῷ.

8. Ὅτι Φιμβρίας κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν πολὺ προέχων τοῖς διαστήμασι τοῦ Φλάκκου καιρὸν ἔσχ' ἐμεγάλοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι τολμήμασι<sup>1</sup>· καὶ σπεύδων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἰδίους κατασκευάσασθαι ταῖς εὐνοίαις συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν τῶν συμμάχων ὡς πολεμίαν διαρπάζειν καὶ τοὺς περιτυχόντας ἐξανδραποδίζεισθαι. ἀσμένως δὲ προσδεξαμένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν συγχώρησιν, ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις περιποίησαντο χρημάτων πλῆθος. οἱ δὲ διαρπαγέντες ἀπήντησαν τῷ ὑπάτῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπωδύροντο. ὁ δὲ περιαλγῆς γενόμενος προσέταξεν ἀκολουθεῖν, ὅπως τὰ ἴδια κομίσωνται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Φιμβρίᾳ διαπειλησάμενος προσέταξεν τὰ διαφορηθέντα τοῖς ἀπολωλεκόσιν ἀποκαταστήσαι. ὁ δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνέπεμπεν, ὡς ἄνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης πάντα πεπραχότας· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις κατ' ἴδιαν παρήγγειλεν μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς προστάγμασιν,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ τὰ διὰ τῶν ὀπλων κτηθέντα τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ μὴ προέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Φλάκκου μετὰ ἀνατάσεως προστάττοντος ἀποδιδόναι τὰ διηρπασμένα, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν οὐ προσεχόντων, ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις κατεῖχε τὸ στράτευμα.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Φιμβρίας διαβεβηκὼς τὸν Ελλήσποντον,<sup>3</sup> τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς παρανομίαν καὶ ἄρπαγὴν παρορμήσας χρήματα τὰς πόλεις εἰσπράττετο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ταῦτα διένεμεν. οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀνυπεύ-

<sup>1</sup> So Valesius: τολμήσαι P.

<sup>2</sup> προστάγμασι P.

<sup>3</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius: ἐλλίποντον P.

supremacy in battle was assured, since the gods, by their large contributions to his war chest, were aiding his cause.

8. During the march Fimbria, being far in advance <sup>86/5 B.C.</sup> of Flaccus,<sup>1</sup> found an opportunity to attempt great ventures, and in the interest of winning the affections of his troops gave them licence to plunder the territory of the allies as if it were enemy country, enslaving anyone they encountered. The soldiers, receiving this permission with delight, within a few days amassed much wealth. Those who had been despoiled waited upon the consul with their tale of woe. He was distressed and told them to come along with him so that they might recover their goods, and he himself ordered Fimbria, with threats, to make restitution of the plunder to those who had suffered the losses. Fimbria attempted to shift all the blame to his men, saying that they had done all they did without his approval, but privately he passed word along to his troops to pay no attention to the orders, and not to surrender what they had acquired by force of arms and under the rules of war. And when Flaccus gave even more urgent orders to return the stolen goods, and the soldiers still paid no heed, disorder and mutiny spread rampant among the host.

Once across the Hellespont, Fimbria incited the troops to acts of violence and rapine, exacted money from the cities, and divided the proceeds among his men. They, raised to a position of irresponsible

<sup>1</sup> L. Valerius Flaccus, elected as *consul suffectus* in 86 B.C. after the death of Marius. Assigned to the command against Mithridates, he was killed in a mutiny of his troops by his legate C. Flavius Fimbria, who instigated the mutiny. The present incident occurred during the march through Thrace to Byzantium, in the winter of 86/5 B.C.

θυνον ἐξουσίαν προαχθέντες καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ὠφελείας μετεωρισθέντες ὡς κοινὸν εὐεργέτην ἡγάπων. τὰς δὲ μὴ ὑπακουσάσας<sup>1</sup> πόλεις ἐκπολιορκῶν εἰς διαρπαγὴν ἐχαρίζετο τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ Νικομήδειαν παρέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς διαρπαγὴν.

- 3 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς<sup>2</sup> Κύζικον παρελθὼν ὡς φίλος τοῖς μὲν εὐπορωτάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμέμφετο θανάτου καταιτιασάμενος· δύω δὲ εἰς κατάπληξιν καὶ φόβον τῶν ἄλλων καταδίκους ποιήσας καὶ ραβδίσας ἐπελέκισε. τὰς δὲ οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διὰ τῶν προαπολωλότην μέγαν φόβον ἐπιστήσας ἠνάγκασε λύτρα τῆς σωτηρίας ὅλας τὰς ὑπάρξεις αὐτῷ προσέσθαι.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 322-323.

- 4 "Ὅτι ὁ Φιμβρίας<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοσοῦτοις περιέβαλεν ἀτυχήμασιν ὅσοις εἰκὸς ἦν περιβαλεῖν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν ὁ βούλεται τηλικαύτῃ δυσσεβείᾳ περιπεποιημένον. τὴν γὰρ Φρυγίαν κατασύρων πρηστῆρος τρόπον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν περιπεσόντων περιτροπῇ<sup>4</sup> ἀπάσης πόλεως κατέσκηπτε. ὁ δὲ στερήσας ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ζῆν μιᾷ τελευτῇ πολλῶν θανάτων ἐχρεοκόπησεν ὀφειλήματα.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 402.)

9. "Ὅτι Γνάιος Πομπήιος στρατιωτικὸν βίον ἐλόμενος ἐνεκαρτέρει ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν κακοπαθείαις

<sup>1</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius : ὑπακουσάντας P.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς added by Reiske.

power and stirred by the prospect of gain, held him dear as a public benefactor. If any cities failed to comply, he forced their surrender and turned them over to his men for plunder. Nicomedeia,<sup>1</sup> for example, he handed over to his troops to be plundered.

This same Fimbria, after entering Cyzicus, ostensibly as a friend, brought complaints against the wealthiest men in town, charging them with certain capital offences. In order to strike fear and horror into the rest he found two of them guilty, and had them scourged and beheaded. Then, having confiscated their property, and cowed the others by the fate meted out to his first victims, he compelled the remaining defendants to purchase their lives by surrendering their entire property to him.

In a short while Fimbria brought such disasters on the province as one might expect from a man who had resorted to such impious methods to win the power to do as he pleased. Devastating Phrygia like a hurricane, he swooped down upon the cities and overturned all who came in his path. And when at last he died by his own hand, he died but once who should have died a thousand deaths.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 9. Gnaeus Pompey, having chosen for his career the life of a soldier, put up with its day-by-day dis-

<sup>1</sup> It was at Nicomedeia that Flaccus was killed (Appian, *Mith.* 52). After his death Fimbria assumed command of the army.

<sup>2</sup> More literally, "by dying but once he defaulted on the many deaths for which he owed a debt (of retribution)." His suicide took place in the Asclepieum at Pergamum, or at Thyateira, after his army had been wrested from him by Sulla. Fimbria's most notorious act was the destruction of Ilium (Appian, *Mith.* 53 ; Dio Cassius, 30/5. 104. 7).

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf : Φιβρίνος V.

<sup>4</sup> ἀνατροπῇ Dindorf<sup>4</sup>, corr.

καὶ ταχὺ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπηνέγκατο τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ἀσκήσεως. πᾶσαν δέ<sup>1</sup> ῥαστώνην καὶ σχολὴν ἀποτριψάμενος διετέλει καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αἰεὶ τι πράττων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων. διαίτη μὲν γὰρ ἐχρήτο λιτῇ, λουτρῶν δὲ καὶ συμπεριφορᾶς τρυφὴν ἐχούσης ἀπείχετο. καὶ τὴν μὲν τροφήν καθήμενος προσεφέρετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπνον ἀπεμέριζε χρόνον ἐλάττονα τῆς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκης· τὸν δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ πόνον παρεδίδου τῇ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιμελείᾳ,<sup>2</sup> ἐπαγρυπνῶν τοῖς τῆς στρατηγίας ἐντεύγμασι· διὰ δέ<sup>3</sup> τῆς συνήθους τῶν ἀπίστων μελέτης ἀθλητῆς ἐγένετο τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων. τοιγαροῦν ὅσω χρόνῳ τις ἔτοιμον οὐκ ἂν παρέλαβε στράτευμα, πολὺ τάχιον οὗτος συνελέξατο καὶ διατάξας καθώπλισε. προσαγγελθειῶν δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πράξεων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἅπαντες οὐ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ λογιζόμενοι κατ' ἀρχὰς κατεφρόνησαν, ὥς τῶν προσ-αγγελλόντων κενῶς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν τραγωδούντων· ὥς δ' ἡ προσηγγελημένη φήμη διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἀληθὲς ἐφάνη, ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέπεμψεν Ἰού-νιον, ὃν τρεψάμενος ἐνίκησεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 323-324.)

10. Ὅτι Γνάιος Πομπήιος καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπενεγκάμενος καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τυχὼν διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ἀκολούθως τοῖς ὑπηργγμένοις<sup>4</sup> τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπραξε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν αὖξιν διὰ

<sup>1</sup> δὲ added by Valesius.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ . . . ἐπιμελείᾳ Valesius: τὴν . . . ἐπιμέλειαν P.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ added by Valesius.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: ὑπηρετουμένοις V.

comforts, and soon won the highest honours for the practice of the military arts. Declining all ease and leisure, he busied himself day and night with whatever would stand him in good stead as a warrior. He kept to a spare diet, and avoided the bath and any society that entailed luxurious habits. He took his food seated,<sup>1</sup> and apportioned less time for sleep than nature requires, working at night on the problems he faced by day, and spending his sleepless hours in the study of works on strategy. By this constant rehearsing of unlikely contingencies he became a master of warfare and the art of combat. Consequently, in far less time than another man would need to take over command of an army that stood ready, he assembled an army, equipped it and put it in battle array.<sup>2</sup> When his achievements were reported in Rome, everyone at first took them lightly, considering his years rather than his ability, and assuming that the bringers of the news were idly inflating the tale with heroic pomp. But when events demonstrated the truth of the reports, the senate sent out Iunius,<sup>3</sup> whom he routed and overcame.

10. Gnaeus Pompey, whose virtues had been so richly rewarded and whose manly spirit had won him the highest laurels,<sup>4</sup> achieved further success after the pattern so laid down and apprised Sulla

<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the usual procedure of reclining at dinner.

<sup>2</sup> This was in Picenum, where Pompey had ancestral estates (cp. Plutarch, *Pomp.* 6; Velleius Paterculus, 2. 29). He was at this time only 23 years old.

<sup>3</sup> L. Iunius Brutus Damasippus, a legate in command of a force of Marians. For the engagement see Plutarch, *Pomp.* 7. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> On their first encounter Sulla saluted Pompey as Imperator (Plutarch, *Pomp.* 8).



γραμμαμάτων ἐδήλωσε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> πολλῶν ἄλλων θαυμάσας τὸν νεανίσκον, τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ συγκλητικοῖς ἐπέπληττε παρνειδίζων ἅμα καὶ προκαλούμενος πρὸς τὸν ὁμοῖον ζῆλον· θαυμάζειν γὰρ ἔφησεν εἰ νέος μὲν παντελῶς τηλικούτον στράτευμα τῶν<sup>2</sup> πολεμίων ἀφῆρπακεν, οἱ δὲ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πολὺ προέχοντες οὐδὲ τοὺς ἰδίους οἰκέτας εἰς συμμαχίαν γνησίαν δεδύνηται παρέχουσαι.  
(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 402-403.)

Chap. 11: see below, after Chap. 16.

16. Ὅτι καταλειφθέντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος μόνου μετὰ τὸ διαφθάρῃν χρήμασι καὶ ἀποστῆναι πάντας καὶ ἀπειγνωκότους τὴν σωτηρίαν, ὁ Σύλλας ἱππεῖς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς παραπέμφοντας μετ' ἀσφαλείας<sup>3</sup> ὅποι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρόνῳ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς<sup>4</sup> ἀξίωμα μεταθεῖναι<sup>5</sup> συναναγκασθεὶς εἰς ἰδιωτικὸν βίον καὶ ταπεινὸν σχῆμα, διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλᾳ παρεπέμφθη ταχέως εἰς ἣν ἐβούλετο πόλιν. εἰτα τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνακτησάμενος κόσμια<sup>6</sup> πάλιν δυνάμειος ἱκανῆς ἀφηγεῖτο.  
(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 324.)

Chap. 17: see below, after Chap. 15.

11. Ὅτι τὸν Ἀδριανὸν τὸν στρατηγὸν τῆς Ἰτυκῆς ζῶντα ἔκανσαν οἱ Ἰτυκηνοί. τὸ δὲ πραχθὲν καίπερ ὃν δεινὸν οὐκ ἔτυχε κατηγορίας διὰ τὴν τοῦ παθόντος κακίαν.

<sup>1</sup> δ' ἐπὶ Post: δὲ V, δὲ πρὸ Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> τηλικούτον στράτευμα τῶν Dindorf: τηλικούτων στρατευμάτων V.

<sup>3</sup> μετ' ἀσφαλείας Valesius: μεταφίλιας P.

<sup>4</sup> So Valesius: ἀρετῆς P.

<sup>5</sup> So Herwerden: μεθεῖναι P.

<sup>6</sup> So Valesius: κοσμίαις P.

by letter of his growing strength. Sulla, who had on many other occasions expressed admiration for the young man, castigated the men of senatorial rank who happened to be present, holding them up to shame and at the same time exhorting them to a like zeal. It was astonishing, he said, that a mere youth could have wrested so large an army from the foe,<sup>1</sup> while they, who were so far ahead of him in years and rank, had not been able to command the unfeigned support even of their own servants.

16. When the men, bribed and corrupted, had all deserted, and Scipio<sup>2</sup> was left alone without hope of survival, Sulla sent horsemen to escort him safely to whatever place he desired. Thus Scipio, who in a single moment had been forced to lay aside the dignity of office for private life and a lowly status, by the mercies of Sulla was escorted to the city of his choice. Thereupon he assumed again the insignia of office and once more was in command of a large army.<sup>3</sup>

11. Hadrianus,<sup>4</sup> the proprætor in command at 82 B.C. Utica, was burnt alive by the Uticans. The deed, terrible though it was, occasioned no denunciations because of the wickedness of the victim.

<sup>1</sup> It is not certain just what victory is here referred to; possibly the fragment should be assigned to 82 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, consul in 83 B.C. Since Appian, *B.C.* 1. 85-86, clearly dates this event, which occurred at Teanum, in 83 B.C. (cp. also Plutarch, *Sulla*, 28. 1-3), the fragment belongs here, or possibly before chap. 10, rather than in the place assigned to it by Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> His re-entry into the war (cp. Appian, *B.C.* 1. 95) seems to have been brief and inglorious. It was possibly on this occasion that he lost an army to Pompey (Plutarch, *Pomp.* 7. 3).

<sup>4</sup> C. Fabius Hadrianus, governor of Africa since 84 B.C.

12. "Ὅτι τῷ Μαρίῳ τῷ υἱῷ Μαρίου ὑπατεύσαντι οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ νόμον τετελεκότων τὴν στρατείαν ἔθελοντὴν ἔσπευσαν τῷ νεανίσκῳ<sup>1</sup> κοινωνῆσαι τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγώνων, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ταῖς ἡλικίαις ὄντες ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὅ τι δύναται πολεμικῶν ἔργων μελέτη καὶ συνήθεια παρατάξεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶν.

13. "Ἐλεγχοὶ πικροὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κατ'<sup>2</sup> ἔθνος καὶ ποικίλαι πείραι προσήγοντο τοῦ γνωσθῆναι πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἡγαγκάζοντο γὰρ διὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοῖς προσποιήμασι μετοκλάζειν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αἰεὶ παρόντας ἀπονέειν. τῶν γὰρ ἀντιπολεμούντων οἱ πρὸς τὴν στρατολογίαν ἀποδεδειγμένοι καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον παρόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφιλοτιμούμενοι τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις ἐλέγχους φανεράν ἐποίουν τὴν τῶν πόλεων<sup>3</sup> κρίσιν.

14. "Ὅτι Μάριος διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατελέλειπτο, μόνος δὲ Μάρκος Περπέννας ὁ τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγός, διαπεμπομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν Σύλλα καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετ' αὐτοῦ τάττεσθαι, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ πειθαρχεῖν ὥστε μὴ μόνον διατηρῆσαι τὴν πρὸς Μάριον εὐνοίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ἀνατάσεως ἀποφῆναι ὅτι παντὶ σθένει διαβὰς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ἔξαρπάσει τὸν Μάριον ἐκ τοῦ Πραινεστοῦ.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 403.)

<sup>1</sup> τῷ νεανίσκῳ Madvig: τῶν νεανίσκων V, τῶν νεανικῶν Herwerden. <sup>2</sup> κατ' (κατὰ) added by Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: πολέμων V.

<sup>1</sup> C. Marius the younger was at this time only 26 years of age.

12. When Marius the son of Marius became consul, not a few who had already completed their term of military service as set by law hastened of their own accord to join the young man<sup>1</sup> in the conflict, and despite their years to demonstrate to their juniors how effective long training in warfare and familiarity with battlefields and other hazards of war can be.

13. City by city and nation by nation harsh tests were applied, and attempts of many sorts to find out where men stood in regard to them.<sup>2</sup> Of necessity the people were constrained to shift the pretended loyalty that they assumed from one side to the other, and to incline toward whichever party was at hand. For representatives of the opposing belligerents assigned to the task of enlisting recruits kept appearing in person, and since they were striving to outdo one another, their highly exacting investigations brought the preference of the cities into the open.

14. As a result of the scarcity of all necessities Marius had been deserted by his troops. Only Marcus Perpenna, the praetor of Sicily, though approached by Sulla and urged to come over to his side, was so far from complying that he not only persisted in his loyalty to Marius, but even affirmed with passion that he would cross from Sicily with all the strength at his command and rescue Marius from Praenestē.<sup>3</sup>

age. The men who rallied to his support were his father's veterans.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably this means in regard to the two opposing leaders, Sulla and the young Marius.

<sup>3</sup> Perpenna's avowals came to naught, and when he was driven from Sicily by Pompey (Plutarch, *Pomp.* 10. 1) he fled to Sertorius in Spain.

15. "Ὅτι μεγάλη στάσις ἐμφύλιος ἤδη διαλυομένου τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ γέγονε πολέμου, ἧς ἡγοῦντο Σύλλας καὶ Γάιος Μάριος, νέος ὢν, ὁ Μαρίου τοῦ πολλάκις ὑπατευκότος, ἐπτάκις γὰρ ὑπάτευσεν, παῖς. ἐν δὲ τῇ στάσει πολλὰ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπησαν, ἐκράτησε δ' ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ δικτάτωρ γεγονώς, Ἐπαφρόδιτον τε ὀνομάσας ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἀλαζονείας· κρατῶν γὰρ τοῖς πολέμοις ἰδίῳ ἀπεβίω θανάτῳ. ὁ δὲ Μάριος μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Σύλλαν γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος, ὅμως ἡττηθεὶς κατέφυγεν εἰς Πραίνεστον ἅμα μυρίοις πεντακισχιλίοις. συγκλεισθεὶς δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον πολιορκηθεὶς ἠναγκάσθη, πάντων αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλειπόντων<sup>1</sup> καὶ μηδεμίαν σωτηρίας ὁδὸν καθορῶν, τὴν ἐνὸς οἰκέτου τῶν πιστῶν χεῖρα εἰς λύσιν τῶν δεινῶν παρακαλέσαι. καὶ ὁ γε πεισθεὶς καὶ μὴ πληγῇ τοῦ βίου τὸν δεσπότην ἀπαλλάξας ἑαυτὸν ἐπικατέσφαξε. καὶ παύεται μὲν αὕτη ἡ στάσις, λείψανα μέντοι τοῦ πολέμου ὑπολειφθέντα τῆς Μαρίου μοίρας ἐπὶ χρόνον Σύλλα διεμαχέσαντο, ἕως καὶ αὐτὰ συνδιέφθορε τοῖς ἄλλοις.

(Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 392-393 B.)

Chap. 16 : see above, after Chap. 10.

17. "Ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων περιφανεῖς ἄνδρες ἐμιαυφονήθησαν ἐκ διαβολῆς, καὶ ὁ τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἔχων Σκαίουόλας, μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξίωμα τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀναξίας τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς ἔτυχε τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἐγκαταλειπόντων A.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "favourite of Aphrodite" ; in the Roman West the name assumed by Sulla was "Felix" (cp. Plutarch, *Sulla*, 260

15. Just as the Marsic War was coming to a close, a great civil war broke out, headed by Sulla and by Gaius Marius, the young son of the Marius who had been so many times (seven, in fact) consul. In this strife many tens of thousands of men perished, but Sulla prevailed, and on becoming dictator he assumed the name of Epaphroditus,<sup>1</sup> a boast in which he was not belied, since he was victorious in war and died a natural death. Marius put up a valiant struggle against Sulla, but was nevertheless defeated and sought refuge in Praenestē with fifteen thousand men. Hemmed in and subjected to a long siege, at last, when all had deserted him and he could discern no way to save himself, he was forced to call on the aid of a single faithful slave to release him from his troubles. The slave consented, and with a single stroke dispatched his master, then slew himself. Thus did the civil war end, though a few remnants of the Marian party, surviving the war, carried on the conflict with Sulla for a while, until they too perished like the rest.

17. As a result of malicious denunciations the leading men of Rome were murdered in cold blood.<sup>2</sup> Even Scaevola, who was at this time *pontifex maximus* and was held in the highest popular esteem, met

34. 2, and Appian, *B.C.* 1. 97). For a discussion of both names see the article "Sulla Felix" by J. P. V. D. Balsdon in *J.R.S.* 41 (1951), 1-10. The choice of the Greek name may have been influenced by the status of Aphrodite, both as divine progenitor of the Romans, and as patron of gamblers, a "Lady Luck."

<sup>2</sup> When Marius, blockaded in Praenestē, realized that the situation was hopeless, he sent word to Iunius Brutus Damasippus, *praetor urbanus*, to do away with the alleged leaders of the opposition at Rome (Appian, *B.C.* 1. 88 ; Velleius Paterculus, 2. 26). On Scaevola cp. Book 37. 5 and 37. 29. 5.



τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο μέγας εὐτύχησαν, ὅτι τοῖς ἀγιωτάτοις σηκοῖς ὁ πάντιμος ἱερεὺς οὐκ ἔφθασε<sup>1</sup> προσπεσεῖν, ἐπεὶτοι γὰρ χάριν τῆς τῶν διωκόντων ὁμότητος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀδύτοις ἐπιβώμιος<sup>2</sup> μαιφονηθεὶς ἀπέσβεσεν ἂν τῷ αἵματι τὸ<sup>3</sup> ἀκοιμήτω<sup>4</sup> δεισιδαιμονία τηρούμενον πῦρ ἐξ αἰῶνος.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 324; from οὐκ ἔφθασε to end, *Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 403-404.)

18. Ὅτι ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπαινος καὶ ἡ τῶν πονηρῶν βλασφημία μάλιστα δύνανται πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χειραγωγεῖν.

2 "Ἄνδρας δυναμένους βουλεύσασθαι καλῶς καὶ τὰ κριθέντα ἀγαγεῖν εἰς συντέλειαν. . . .

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 404.)

19. Ὅτι προτεθείσης προγραφῆς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνέδραμε πλήθος ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν. οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ συνέπασχον τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸν θάνατον. εἰς δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθόντων, κακία καὶ ὑπερηφανία διαφέρων, ἐγγελῶν τοῖς κινδυνεύουσι πολλὰ κατ' αὐτῶν ὑβριστικῶς ἐβλασφήμησεν. ἔνθα δὲ δαιμονίου τινὸς νέμεσις τῷ διασύροντι τὴν τῶν ἀκληροῦντων τύχην ἐπέθηκε τὴν πρέπουσαν τῇ κακίᾳ τιμωρίαν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀνόμασι<sup>5</sup> εὐρὼν ἑαυτὸν προσγεγραμμένον, εὐθέως ἐγκαλινθόμενος<sup>6</sup> τὴν κεφαλὴν προῆγε διὰ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐλπίζων λήσεσθαι τοὺς περιεστώτας καὶ διὰ τοῦ δρασμοῦ πορίσεσθαι<sup>7</sup> τὴν σωτηρίαν.

<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφθασε (as if continuing chap. 14) V.

<sup>2</sup> V omits ἐπιβώμιος.

<sup>3</sup> τῷ V.

<sup>4</sup> So V (as read by Mai): ἀκοιμ . . . V (Boissevain), ἀκοιμίστω P, ἀκοιμήτον Herwerden.

a fate that ill matched his noble nature. In one respect, at least, the Roman people were highly fortunate, namely that the supreme pontiff failed, though barely, to reach the holy of holies<sup>1</sup>; for granted the savagery of his pursuers he would have been murdered right at the altar of the innermost sanctum, and his blood would have extinguished the fire that through the ages has been kept alive with sleepless scrupulosity.

18. The praise of good men and the denunciation of the wicked have very great power to guide men towards noble deeds.

Men who are capable of making a wise decision and of carrying their resolves to fulfilment. . . .

19. When the proscription lists<sup>2</sup> were posted in the Forum, large crowds hurried to read them, and for the most part they sympathized with the men who were obliged to submit to death. One fellow in the gathering, however, a man of unusual baseness and arrogance, ridiculed the intended victims and reviled them with many a gross insult. Then and there the retribution of some divinity imposed upon the man who mocked the lot of these unfortunates a punishment that indeed fitted his offence. Finding his own name written at the very end of the list, he at once veiled his head and rushed away through the crowd, hoping not to be noticed by those around and to make good his escape by flight.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the temple of Vesta.

<sup>2</sup> On Sulla's proscriptions see, among others, Appian, *B.C.* 1. 95-96; Dio Cassius, 30/5. 109; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 31.

<sup>5</sup> ὀνόμασι P.

<sup>6</sup> So Herwerden: ἐγκαλινθόμενος P.

<sup>7</sup> So Valesius: περιέσεσθαι P, ποριέσθαι Herwerden, Din-dorf<sup>4</sup>, περιποιήσεσθαι Reiske.

γνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν πλησίων<sup>1</sup> ἐστώτων καὶ φανερῶς τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν περιστάσεως γενομένης, συνελήφθη καὶ ἔτυχε τῆς τιμωρίας, πάντων ἐπιχαίρόντων τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ.

20. "Οτι πολλῷ χρόνῳ τῆς Σικελίας ἀδικοδοσή- του γενομένης, ὁ Πομπήιος δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν καὶ χρηματίζων περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀμφισβητημάτων καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν συμβολαίων οὕτως εὐστόχως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἀποφάσεις ὥστε ὑπερβολὴν ἐτέρῳ μὴ ἀπολείπειν. εἴκοσι δὲ καὶ δυεῖν ἐτῶν τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχων, καὶ τῆς νεότητος προκαλουμένης ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλογίστους ἡδονάς, οὕτως αὐστηρῶς καὶ σωφρόνως ἐποίησατο τὴν ἐπιδημίαν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ὥστε πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν καταπλήττεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 324-325.)

21. "Οτι ὁ Σπάρτακος ὁ βάρβαρος εὐεργετηθεὶς παρὰ τινος εὐχάριστος ἐφάνη πρὸς αὐτόν· αὐτοδίδακτος γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἡ φύσις πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν χάριτος τοῖς εὐεργέταις.

22. "Οτι ἡ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων νίκη κοινὴν ἔχει τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν εὐημερίαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς στρατηγικῆς συνέσεως γινόμενα κατορθώματα μόνῳ προσάπτεται τῷ ἡγεμόνι.

2 Ἀκατάσχετος γάρ τις ὁρμὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνέπεσε τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποστάσεως.

<sup>1</sup> So Salmasius, Valesius : *πλησίων* P.

He was recognized, however, by one of the bystanders, and when the truth of his plight was disclosed he was arrested and executed, while all rejoiced at his death.

20. Inasmuch as Sicily had been without courts of law for a long period, Pompey applied himself to the administration of justice.<sup>1</sup> In dealing both with public disputes and with matters of private contract he rendered his decisions with such unerring skill and such incorruptibility that no one could hope to surpass him. Though only twenty-two years old, at an age when youth itself invites to the irrational pleasures, he lived during his stay on the island with such austerity and sobriety that the Sicilians were astounded, and marvelled at the young man's display of character.

21. The barbarian Spartacus,<sup>2</sup> on receiving a cer- 73 B.C.  
tain favour from someone, showed him his gratitude. Indeed, nature is self-schooled, even among barbarians, to repay kindness for kindness to those who give assistance.

22. A victory won by force of arms brings honour and glory to officers and soldiers alike, but successes obtained through a general's skill redound only to the credit of the commander.

An irrepressible impulse swept over the barbarians to revolt to the Romans.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Pompey in Sicily cp. Plutarch, *Pomp.* 10, and Cicero, *Leg. Man.* 61. The age given here is wrong, as he was born in 106 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Spartacus was a Thracian, who headed a revolt of gladiators in Capua in 73 B.C. The revolt involved all of southern Italy and was not put down until 71 B.C. Cp. Appian, *B.C.* 1. 116-120.

<sup>3</sup> See the following fragment (Book 37. 22a) on Sertorius, *ad init.*

- 3 Ὅτι ὡς ἐπίπαν αἱ τῶν ἄλλων συμφοραὶ νουθετοῦσι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις κινδύνοις ὑπάρχοντας.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 404.)

Book 37. 22a. Ὅτι ὁ Σερτώριος θεωρῶν ἀκατάσχετον οὖσαν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἐγγχωρίων πικρῶς προσεφέρετο τοῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατατινώμενος<sup>1</sup> ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυλακὴν παρεδίδου, τῶν δὲ εὐπορωτάτων ἐδήμεινε τὰς οὐσίας. πολὺν δὲ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἀθροίσας οὐκ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ταμιεῖον κατετίθετο, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἐθυσαύριζεν· οὔτε<sup>2</sup> τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχορήγει τὰς μισθοφορίας,<sup>3</sup> οὔτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι μετεδίδου τούτων, οὔτε τὰς κεφαλικάς κρίσεις μετὰ συνεδρίου καὶ συμβούλων<sup>4</sup> ἐποιεῖτο, διακούων δὲ ἰδίᾳ καὶ μόνον κριτὴν<sup>5</sup> ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἀποφάσεις· εἷς τε τὰ σύνδειπνα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὐκ ἡξίου παραλαμβάνειν, οὐδὲ φιλανθρωπίας οὐδεμιᾶς μετεδίδου τοῖς φίλοις. καθόλου δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐπίδοσιν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐξουσίας ἀποθηριωθείς τυραννικῶς ἅπασιν προσεφέρετο. καὶ ἐμισθῆθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπεβουλεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων. ἡ δὲ ἀναίρεσις αὐτοῦ συνετελέσθη τοιῶδέν τινα τρόπον. τῶν ἡγεμόνων οἱ μέγιστον ἔχοντες

<sup>1</sup> So Feder: κατατινωμένους S.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ οὔτε Feder, Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> μισθοφορίας Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> So Feder, Müller: συμβολῶν S.

<sup>5</sup> So de Boor: μονοκριτὴν S, μονοκρίτην Feder, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Q. Sertorius, praetor in 83 B.C., retired at the end of the year to his province of Spain, where he found popular support 266

As a general rule the sufferings of others serve as a warning to those who find themselves amid similar perils.

Book 37. 22a. Sertorius,<sup>1</sup> seeing that the movement among the natives could not be held in check, behaved harshly towards his allies: some he arraigned and put to death, others he imprisoned, and the wealthiest he stripped of their estates. But though he amassed much gold and silver he did not deposit it in the common war chest, but hoarded it for his own use; nor did he provide pay for the soldiers therefrom, nor share it with the other leaders. In capital cases he did not sit down with the council or with his advisers, but appointing himself sole judge heard the evidence and pronounced sentence in private. At his banquets he refused to admit the commanders and failed to show any consideration for his friends. In general, exasperated by the progressive deterioration in his position, he behaved tyrannically towards everyone. He won the hatred of the people, and his friends plotted to take his life. They succeeded in doing away with him in the following way. The leaders of highest standing,

and, with one interruption, maintained a sort of "government in exile" until his death in 72 B.C. For the story of his decline and fall see Plutarch, *Sert.* 25-27; Appian, *B.C.* 1. 112-114; Sallust, *Hist.* 3, frs. 81-89 (Maurenbrecher).

In his edition of the collection *De Insidiis*, Müller noted (*FHG*, 2, p. xxiii) that the passage on Sertorius should be inserted "post xxxvii, 22." Though this is clearly a misprint for "xxxviii, 22," the instructions were followed literally in Dindorf's final edition of the text. This and the following chapter, on Mithridates, have therefore been removed to their proper chronological position here at the end of Books 38/9. See my discussion, *A.J.P.* 77 (1956), 412-413.



## DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀξίωμα Περπέννας καὶ Ταρκυνίους<sup>1</sup> συμφρονήσαντες ἀλλήλοις ἔγνωσαν ὡς τύραννον ὄντα τὸν Σερτώριον ἀνελεῖν. προστάτης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰρεθεὶς ὁ Περπέννας ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ δείπνον τὸν Σερτώριον καὶ τοὺς συνίστορας συμπάρελαβεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν. καταντήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σερτωρίου, καὶ τῶν κοινοπραγούντων συνεπιθεμένων, ὁ Σερτώριος ἀνακλιθεὶς ἀνὰ μέσον Ταρκυνίου<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἀντωνίου ὑπὸ τούτων ἐσφάγη.

Book 37. 22b. "Ὅτι ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς παρ' ὀλίγον ἐκινδύνευσε ὑποχρεῖσθαι τοῖς Κυζικηνοῖς. συναγωνιζόμενος γάρ τις ἐν ταῖς μεταλλείαις Ῥωμαῖος ἑκατοντάρχης ἐπεβάλετο τοῦτο τελέσαι. διὰ γὰρ τὰς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις μεταλλείας συνεχῶς γινομένων συμπλοκῶν καὶ συλλόγων, εἰς γνώσιν ἦλθε τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμιλίαις. μονωθεὶς δὲ ποτε κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀρύγμασι φυλακὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἐπιστατούντων ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καταπειραθεὶς<sup>2</sup> περὶ προδοσίας, προσεδέξατο τοὺς λόγους προσποιητικῶς.<sup>3</sup> ἀνενεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ πράγματος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπιθυμῶν κυριεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως δωρεὰς ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ συνέθετο καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τὸν σύλλογον ἔδει γενέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> So Feder: Ταρκύνιος (and Ταρκυνίου) S.

<sup>2</sup> So Feder, Müller: καταπειρασθεὶς S.

<sup>3</sup> προσποιήτως Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> On Perpenna see above, note on chap. 14; C. Tarquinius Priscus was one of Sertorius' legates. The (Marcus) Anto-

Perpenna and Tarquinius,<sup>1</sup> made common cause and resolved to do away with Sertorius because of his tyranny. Perpenna, chosen to head the conspiracy, invited Sertorius to dinner, and included among his guests the others who were privy to the plot. When Sertorius arrived the conspirators set upon him, and since he had been placed at the table between Tarquinius and Antonius,<sup>2</sup> it was they who slew him.

Book 37. 22b. As a result of a plot Mithridates barely escaped falling into the hands of the Cyzicenes. It was a Roman centurion, working with them in their tunnelling operations,<sup>3</sup> who attempted to bring this about. Since these operations were being conducted on both sides and gave frequent occasion for encounters and conversations, he had become known to the king's men from his frequent talks with them. It happened once that he was left all alone on guard in the mines, and when one of the royal overseers of the work approached him with the proposition that he betray the city, he pretended to be receptive. The proposal was reported to the king, and he, in his eagerness to win control of the city, offered the man rewards and set a time for them to meet to discuss the matter. When the

nus mentioned below is not known apart from his role in the conspiracy.

<sup>2</sup> Sallust gives a different account of the seating, *Hist.* 3, fr. 83 (M.).

<sup>3</sup> Mithridates' siege of Cyzicus is variously dated to the winter of 74/3 B.C. (so Broughton, *Magistrates*, 2. 106-108) or to the winter of 73/2 B.C. (so Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1204-1205, note 5). For what it may be worth the order of the fragments of Diodorus would support the later date. The story told here amplifies the brief mention of the king's near-capture recorded in Strabo, 12. 8. 11, p. 576; Appian, *Mith.* 75-76 also mentions the mining operations.

Ῥωμαίου πίστεις τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ζητοῦντος, ἀπέ-  
λυσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ συνθησομένους.  
ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφησεν<sup>1</sup> ἄλλως πιστεῦσιν, ἐὰν μὴ παρ'  
αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ βασιλέως λάβῃ τοὺς ὅρκους. ὁ δὲ οὐχ  
ἡγείτο βασιλικῆς ἀξίας οἰκείον εἶναι συγκατα-  
βαίνειν εἰς τὰ ὀρύγματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ προδότης οὐκ  
ἔφησεν<sup>1</sup> ἄλλως ὑπακούσεσθαι,<sup>3</sup> ἡ δὲ ἐπίθεσις τοῦ  
κυριεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως συνεῖχεν, ἡναγκάσθη συγ-  
καταθέσθαι τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ ἂν<sup>4</sup>  
συνέβη τὸν βασιλέα γενέσθαι ὑποχείριον, εἰ μὴ τῶν  
φίλων τις εὐστόχως καταμαντευσάμενος τὴν ἐπι-  
βουλὴν κατεσκεύασε σύμμετρον μηχανὴν δυναμέ-  
νην ὁξέως ἀνοίγεσθαι τε καὶ κλείεσθαι· καὶ ταύτης  
εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα τεθείσης, καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου μετὰ  
τῶν φίλων συνεμβάντων, ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος τοὺς μέλ-  
λοντας μεθ' αὐτοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς χεῖρας προσφέ-  
ρειν . . . εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ὤρμη-  
σεν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ φθάσας συνέκλεισε τὴν  
θύραν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐξέφυγεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 209-210.)

<sup>1</sup> So Feder, Müller (*dis*): οὐκέφυγεν S.

Roman asked to have guarantees to these promises, the king sent men to give them in his name. The man, however, insisted that he would not accept them unless he had the oaths from the king himself. The king felt that it ill became his royal dignity to descend into the mines, but since the betrayer said he would not listen to any other proposition, and the attempt to get possession of the city was a pressing concern, Mithridates was forced to accede to the demand. And the king would actually have fallen into his hands, had not one of his friends, astutely surmising the Roman's intentions, devised a mechanism of just the right size that could be quickly opened and closed. This was placed in the tunnel, and when Mithridates and his friends had entered, the centurion . . . the men with him who were to attack the king . . . drawing his sword he rushed upon the king. But the king got the door closed in time, and escaped safely out of danger.

<sup>2</sup> παρ' αὐτοῦ Herwerden: παρὰ S.

<sup>3</sup> So Feder: ὑπακούεσθαι S.

<sup>4</sup> So Herwerden: καὶ S.

# FRAGMENTA LIBRI XL

1. "Ὅτι Μάρκος<sup>1</sup> Ἀντώνιος συνθέμενος πρὸς Κρήτας εἰρήνην . . . μέχρι μὲν τινος ταύτην ἐτήρουν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προτιθεμένης<sup>2</sup> βουλῆς ὅπως ἂν μάλιστα τῆς ὠφελείας προνοήσαιτο, οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντες συνεβούλευον πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον εὐγνώμοσι λόγοις καὶ δεήσεσιν ἐξιλάσκεσθαι. διόπερ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τριάκοντα πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας. οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν περιπορευόμενοι τὰς οἰκίας τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ πᾶσαν δεητικὴν<sup>3</sup> προῖεμενοι φωνὴν<sup>2</sup> ἐξεθεράπευον τοὺς τὸ συνέδριον συνέχοντας. εἰσαχθέντες δὲ εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ περὶ τε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐμφρόνως ἀπολογησάμενοι<sup>4</sup> τὰς τε ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀκριβῶς διελθόντες, ἡξίουσαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν προγεγεννημένην εὐνοίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἀποκαταστήναι. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀσμένως τοὺς λόγους προσδεξα-

<sup>1</sup> So Ursinus: Δεύκιος O.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: συντιθεμένης O.

<sup>3</sup> So Wesseling: δεκτικὴν O.

<sup>4</sup> So Ursinus: ὁμολογησάμενοι O.

<sup>1</sup> M. Antonius Creticus (father of the triumvir) as praetor

# FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XL

1. Marcus Antonius<sup>1</sup> came to terms with the 71 B.C. Cretans, and for a while they observed the peace. Later, however, when the question was brought forward how they might best look to their own advantage, the oldest men, and the most prudent, counselled them to send an embassy to Rome to offer a defence against the crimes imputed to them, and to attempt by fair words and petitions to appease the senate. Accordingly they dispatched thirty of 69 B.C. (?) their most eminent men as ambassadors. These men, by going about individually to the houses of the senators and voicing every possible plea for mercy, won over the pillars of the senate. Brought before the senate itself, they argued their case discreetly, and enumerated in detail their good services to the ruling power, and the military support they had rendered it; this said, they called upon the senators to restore them to favour and re-establish the alliance that had existed earlier. The senate, giving their explanations a ready welcome,

in 74 B.C. was given an *imperium infinitum* to combat piracy throughout the Mediterranean. In 72 or 71 B.C. he was severely defeated by the Cretan pirates and forced to conclude a humiliating peace.—The exact date of the Cretan embassy is not certain, but on the basis of Cicero, *Verr.* 2. 2. 76, it appears to be February, 69 B.C. (rather than 70), with the ultimatum following later in the same year.



μένη δόγμα ἐπεβάλετο<sup>1</sup> κυροῦν δι' οὗ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τοὺς Κρήτας ἀπολύουσα φίλους καὶ συμμάχους τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνηγόρευεν<sup>2</sup>. ἄκυρον δὲ τὸ δόγμα ἐποίησε Λέντλος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Σπινθήρ.  
<sup>3</sup> οἱ δὲ Κρήτες ἀπηλλάγησαν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος, περὶ τῶν Κρητῶν πολλάκις λόγου γενομένου ὅτι κοινωνοῦσι τῆς ληστείας τοῖς πειραταῖς, δόγμα ἔγραψεν ὅπως οἱ Κρήτες πάντα τὰ πλοῖα ἕως τετρασκάμου<sup>3</sup> ἀναπέμψωσιν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ τριακοσίους ὁμήρους δώσι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, ἐκπέμψωσι δὲ καὶ Λασθένην καὶ Πανάρην, κοινῇ δὲ πάντες ἐκτίσωσιν ἀργυρίῳ τάλαντα τετρακισχίλια. οἱ δὲ Κρήτες πυθόμενοι τὰ δεδογμένα τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ τῶν προσηγγελέμων ἐβουλεύοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν φρονήσει διαφέροντες ἔφρασαν<sup>4</sup> δεῖν πάντα ποιεῖν τὰ προσταττόμενα, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λασθένην, τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν ὄντες ἔνοχοι καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἀναπεμφθέντες εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τιμωρίας τύχωσιν, ἀνέσειον τὰ πλήθη παρακαλοῦντες τὴν ἐξ αἰῶνος παραδεδομένην ἑλευθερίαν διαφυλάττειν. (Const. Exc. 1, p. 409.)

1a. "Ὅτι τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τινὲς καταφρονήσαντες Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τὴν ἡττὰν ἀνέσειον τὰ πλήθη καὶ συνεβούλευον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μεταστή-

<sup>1</sup> So Schaefer: ἐξέβαλε τὸ Ο.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps ἀν ἀνηγόρευεν.

<sup>3</sup> τετρασκάμου Suidas, s.v.: τετρασκάλου O.

<sup>4</sup> ἔφασαν Dindorf<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Or, if ἀν is inserted (see critical note), "attempted to pass a decree whereby, absolving the Cretans . . . they would proclaim them, etc."

<sup>2</sup> The exact identity of this Lentulus Spinther is not certain but probably he should be listed as a *tribunus plebis* of 70 or 69 B.C. The tribunician powers were restored in 70 B.C.

attempted to pass a decree wherein they absolved the Cretans of the offences charged against them, and proclaimed<sup>1</sup> them friends and allies of the state; but Lentulus,<sup>2</sup> surnamed Spinther, vetoed the measure. Thereupon the Cretans departed. The senate, upon being informed time after time that the Cretans were in league with the pirates and sharing the booty, decreed<sup>3</sup> that the Cretans should send to Rome all their ships, even to those of only four oars, should furnish three hundred hostages, all men of great prominence, should hand over Lasthenes and Panares, and should pay jointly an indemnity of four thousand talents in silver. When the Cretans learned of the senatorial decisions they met to deliberate on the news. The more prudent said that they ought to comply with all the demands, but Lasthenes and his supporters, being liable to conviction on these charges, and fearing that if they were sent to Rome they would be punished, stirred up the populace with exhortations to preserve the liberty handed down to them from time immemorial.

1a. Certain of the Antiochenes, emboldened<sup>67/6 B.C.</sup> against King Antiochus<sup>4</sup> as a result of his defeat, stirred up the populace and proposed that he be

<sup>3</sup> The rejection of this ultimatum resulted in a declaration of war in 69 B.C., though apparently the consul, Metellus Creticus, did not take the field until the following year. Though Dio Cassius, 30/5. 111, seems to combine the ultimatum with the embassy of the Cretans to Rome, and Appian, *Sic.* 6, sets the embassy *after* the declaration of war, the account of Diodorus seems intrinsically more probable.

<sup>4</sup> Antiochus XIII, known as Asiaticus, the son of Antiochus X. Between 69 and 64 B.C. he held the throne for two brief periods. See A. R. Bellinger, "The End of the Seleucids," *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 38 (1949), 82-84; G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), 136-172.

σασθαι. γενομένης δὲ στάσεως μεγάλης καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικρατήσαντος, οἱ αἵτιοι τῆς στάσεως φοβηθέντες ἔφυγον ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ καταντήσαντες εἰς Κιλικίαν ἐπεβάλοντο κατάγειν Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Φιλίππου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐξ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Γρυποῦ.<sup>1</sup> ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ καταντήσαντος πρὸς Ἀζίζον τὸν Ἀραβα, ἀσμένως τοῦτον προσδεξάμενος Ἀζίζος καὶ περιθεὶς διάδημα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγεν.

1b. Ὅτι τὰς ὅλας ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σαμψικεράμου<sup>2</sup> συμμαχίᾳ μετεπέμπετο τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ δὲ ἐν ἀπορρήτοις συνθέμενος πρὸς Ἀζίζον ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῶν βασιλέων ἦκε<sup>3</sup> μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ μετεπέμπετο τὸν Ἀντιόχον. τοῦ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὑπακούσαντος, ὑποκριθεὶς ὡς φίλος συνέλαβε τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τότε μὲν δήσας παρεφύλαττεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἀνείλεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀζίζος κατὰ τὰς γενομένας ἐπὶ μερισμῷ τῆς Συριακῆς βασιλείας συνθέσεις ἐπεβάλετο δολοφονῆσαι τὸν Φίλιππον· ὁ δὲ προαισθόμενος τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 210-211.)

2. Ὅτι περὶ Δαμασκὸν τῆς Συρίας διατρίβοντος Πομπηίου ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἰρκανὸς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀμφισβητοῦντες περὶ τῆς βασιλείας. οἱ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατοι πλείους ὄντες τῶν διακοσίων κατήντησαν πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> So Feder, Müller: γρυποῦ S.

<sup>2</sup> So Feder: Σαμψικεράμου S.

<sup>3</sup> So Müller: ἦ S.

<sup>1</sup> Philip II, known as the Heavy-footed (Barypous), who reigned briefly in 67/6 and again in 66/5 B.C.

banished from the city. There was a great uprising, but when the king prevailed, the ringleaders of the sedition fled in alarm from Syria; gathering in Cilicia they proposed to restore Philip,<sup>1</sup> son of the Philip whose father was Antiochus Grypus. Philip proved receptive to the proposal and arranged a meeting with Azizus the Arab, who gave him a ready welcome, set a diadem on his head, and restored him to the kingship.

1b. Pinning all his hopes on the alliance with Sampsiceramus, he<sup>2</sup> sent for him to come with his army. He, however, having made a secret agreement with Azizus to do away with the kings, came with his army and summoned Antiochus to his presence. When the king, knowing nothing of this, complied, Sampsiceramus acted the part of a friend but placed him under arrest, and though for the time being he merely held him closely guarded in chains, he later had him put to death. So too, in accordance with the agreement to divide up the kingdom of Syria, Azizus intended to assassinate Philip, but Philip got wind of the plot and fled to Antioch.

2. During Pompey's stay in Damascus of Syria,<sup>63 B.C.</sup> Aristobulus, the king of the Jews, and Hyrcanus his brother came to him with their dispute over the kingship.<sup>3</sup> Likewise the leading men, more than

<sup>2</sup> The subject of the sentence is evidently Antiochus. Sampsiceramus was a sheikh of Emesa.

<sup>3</sup> On the death of Queen Salomé Alexandra in 67 B.C. Hyrcanus, though the elder son, was forced after a short struggle to recognize Aristobulus as king and high priest. The struggle was soon resumed, Antipater and the Nabataeans supporting Hyrcanus, but was interrupted by the appearance on the scene of Pompey's lieutenant, Scourus, in 65 B.C.

τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ ἀπεφάναντο τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> ἀφεστηκότας τοῦ Δημητρίου<sup>2</sup> πεπρεσβευ-  
κέναι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, καὶ παρειληφέναι τὴν  
προστασίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐλευθέρων καὶ αὐτονό-  
μων, οὐ βασιλέως χρηματίζοντος ἀλλ' ἀρχιερέως  
τοῦ<sup>3</sup> προεστηκότος τοῦ ἔθνους. τούτους δὲ νῦν  
δυναστεύειν καταλελυκότας τοὺς πατέρας νόμους  
καὶ καταδεδουλώσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἀδίκως· μισθο-  
φόρων γὰρ πλήθει καὶ αἰκίαις καὶ πολλοῖς φόνοις  
ἀσεβέσι περιπεποιησθαι τὴν βασιλείαν. ὁ δὲ περὶ  
μὲν τῶν ἀμφισβητήσεων εἰς ὕστερον ὑπερεβάλετο  
καιρὸν, περὶ δὲ τῆς παρανομίας<sup>4</sup> τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
καὶ τῶν εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικημάτων πικρῶς ἐπι-  
τιμήσας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἀξίους μὲν αὐτοὺς  
ἔφησεν εἶναι καὶ μείζονος καὶ πικροτέρας ἐπιστρο-  
φῆς, ὅμως δὲ διὰ τὴν πάτριον ἐπιείκειαν τῶν  
Ῥωμαίων, ἐὰν<sup>5</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ<sup>6</sup> νῦν πείθωνται, συγγνώμης  
αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσειν. (Const. Exc. 4, pp. 404-405.)

3. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μέλλοντες ἀναγράφειν τὸν πρὸς  
Ἰουδαίους πόλεμον, οἰκεῖον εἶναι διαλαμβάνομεν  
προδιελθεῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὴν τε τοῦ ἔθνους τούτου  
ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτίσιν καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμιμα. κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: ἐαντῶν V.

<sup>2</sup> So Walton (cp. Justin, 36. 3. 9): ἱεροῦ V; Συρίου Her-  
werden, Σύρου Madvig. Dindorf reads προεστηκότας τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ added by Nock.

<sup>4</sup> παρανομίας τῆς κατὰ Herwerden.

<sup>5</sup> So Walton: εἰ V (editors before Boissvain read πεί-  
θονται, emended by Herwerden, Dindorf<sup>4</sup> to πείσονται).

two hundred in number, gathered to address the  
general and explain that their forefathers, having  
revolted from Demetrius,<sup>1</sup> had sent an embassy to  
the senate and received from them the leadership  
of the Jews, who were, moreover, to be free and  
autonomous, their ruler being called High Priest,  
not King. Now, however, these men were lording  
it over them, having overthrown the ancient laws  
and enslaved the citizens in defiance of all justice;  
for it was by means of a horde of mercenaries, and  
by outrages and countless impious murders that they  
had established themselves as kings. Pompey put  
off till a later occasion the settlement of their rival  
claims, but as to the lawless behaviour of<sup>2</sup> the Jews  
and the wrongs committed against the Romans he  
bitterly upbraided the party of Hyrcanus. They de-  
served, he said, some graver and harsher visitation;  
nevertheless, in the spirit of Rome's traditional  
clemency, he would, if they were obedient hence-  
forward, grant them pardon.

3. Now that we are about to record the war  
against the Jews, we consider it appropriate to give  
first a summary account of the establishment of the  
nation, from its origins, and of the practices observed

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Demetrius I, in 161 B.C. This was the occasion for  
the first Jewish embassy to Rome (cp. 1 Macc. 8, and  
Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 12. 417 ff., who purport to give the text  
of the senatorial decree). The unemended Greek text says:  
"having revolted from the temple"; Herwerden, though  
with an eye rather to the revolt against Antiochus IV in  
166 B.C., emends to read "from the Syrian (king)." See my  
discussion, *A.J.P.* 77 (1956), 413-414.

<sup>2</sup> Herwerden would emend to read: "lawless behaviour  
against the Jews."

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: τῆς V.



τὴν Αἴγυπτον τὸ παλαιὸν λοιμικῆς περιστάσεως  
γενομένης ἀνέπεμπον οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν  
κακῶν ἐπὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον· πολλῶν γὰρ καὶ παντο-  
δαπῶν κατοικούντων ξένων καὶ διηλλαγμένοις ἔθεσι  
χρωμένων περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καταλελύ-  
σθαι συνέβαινε παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰς πατρίους τῶν θεῶν  
<sup>2</sup> τιμὰς. διόπερ<sup>1</sup> οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐγγενεῖς<sup>2</sup> ὑπέλαβον,  
ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους μεταστήσωνται, λύσιν<sup>3</sup>  
οὐκ ἔσσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν. εὐθὺς οὖν ξενηλατου-  
μένων τῶν ἄλλοθενῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ  
δραστικώτατοι συστραφέντες ἐξερρίφησαν, ὥς τινὲς  
φασιν, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους τόπους,  
ἔχοντες ἀξιολόγους ἡγεμόνας,<sup>4</sup> ὧν ἡγοῦντο Δαναὸς  
καὶ Κάδμος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανέστατοι· ὁ δὲ πολὺς  
λεὼς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἰουδαίαν,  
οὐ πόρρω μὲν κειμένην τῆς Αἰγύπτου, παντελῶς δὲ  
<sup>3</sup> ἔρημον οὖσαν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους. ἡγεῖτο  
δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Μωσῆς,  
φρονήσει τε<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἀνδρεία πολὺ διαφέρων. οὗτος δὲ  
καταλαβόμενος τὴν χώραν ἄλλας τε πόλεις ἔκτισε  
καὶ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν ἐπιφανεστάτην, ὀνομαζομένην  
Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἰδρύσατο δὲ καὶ τὸ μάλιστα παρ'  
αὐτοῖς τιμώμενον ἱερόν, καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ ἀγιστείας  
τοῦ θείου κατέδειξε, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν

<sup>1</sup> So Herwerden : ὅπερ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγγενεῖς A.

<sup>3</sup> So Nock : κρίσιν MSS., ἐκλυσιν or ἔκβασιν Herwerden.

<sup>4</sup> ἡγεμόνας] Jacoby suggests δυνάμεις.

<sup>5</sup> So ed. Hoeschel, in margin : δὲ.

<sup>1</sup> The rest of this passage (= Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 264, fr. 6) is based on the work of Hecataeus of Abdera, whose *Aegyptiaca*, written at the court of Ptolemy I, included what is perhaps the earliest Greek account of Jewish history and  
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among them.<sup>1</sup> When in ancient times a pestilence arose in Egypt,<sup>2</sup> the common people ascribed their troubles to the workings of a divine agency; for indeed with many strangers of all sorts dwelling in their midst and practising different rites of religion and sacrifice, their own traditional observances in honour of the gods had fallen into disuse. Hence the natives of the land surmised that unless they removed the foreigners, their troubles would never be resolved. At once, therefore, the aliens<sup>3</sup> were driven from the country, and the most outstanding and active among them banded together and, as some say, were cast ashore in Greece and certain other regions; their leaders were notable men, chief among them being Danaüs and Cadmus. But the greater number were driven into what is now called Judaea, which is not far distant from Egypt and was at that time utterly uninhabited. The colony was headed by a man called Moses, outstanding both for his wisdom and for his courage. On taking possession of the land he founded, besides other cities, one that is now the most renowned of all, called Jerusalem. In addition he established the temple that they hold in chief veneration, instituted their forms of worship and ritual, drew up their

practices: cp. W. Jaeger, *Journal of Religion*, 18 (1938), 127-143, J. Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* (Jerusalem, 1958), 39-73 (in Hebrew), who argues that Hecataeus' *Judaica* was a separate work, and F. R. Walton, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 48 (1955), 255-257. Despite a number of errors, it is notably more sympathetic than the source followed in Books 34/5. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. "The Plagues of Egypt" enumerated in Exodus 7-12.

<sup>3</sup> In Books 34/5. 1, the persons expelled are not aliens, but lepers. See note *ad loc.*

ἐνομοθέτησέ τε καὶ διέταξε. διείλε δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δώδεκα φυλὰς διὰ τὸ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον τελειότατον νομίζεσθαι καὶ σύμφωνον εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῶν μηνῶν τῶν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συμπληρούντων. 4 ἄγαλμα δὲ θεῶν τὸ σύνολον οὐ κατεσκεύασε διὰ τὸ μὴ νομίζειν ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν περιέχοντα τὴν γῆν οὐρανὸν μόνον εἶναι θεόν καὶ τῶν ὅλων κύριον. τὰς δὲ θυσίας ἐξηλλαγμένας συνεστήσατο τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀγωγάς· διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἰδίαν ξηνηλασίαν ἀπάνθρωπόν τινα καὶ μισόξενον βίον εἰσηγήσατο. ἐπιλέξας δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς χαριεστατούς καὶ μάλιστα δυνησομένους τοῦ σύμπαντος ἔθνους προῖστασθαι, τούτους ἱερεῖς ἀπέδειξε· τὴν δὲ διατρίβην ἔταξεν αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὰς τοῦ 5 θεοῦ τιμὰς τε καὶ θυσίας. τοὺς αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ δικαστὰς ἀπέδειξε τῶν μεγίστων κρίσεων, καὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἔθων φυλακὴν τούτοις ἐπέτρεψε· διὸ καὶ βασιλέα μὲν μηδέποτε τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τὴν δὲ τοῦ πλήθους προστασίαν διδοσθαι διὰ παντός τῷ δοκοῦντι τῶν ἱερέων φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ προέχειν. τοῦτον δὲ προσαγορεύουσιν ἀρχιερέα, καὶ νομίζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄγγελον γίνεσθαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγ- 6 μάτων. τοῦτον δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους φησὶν ἐκφέρειν τὰ παραγγελλόμενα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος οὕτως εὐπιθεῖς γίνεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὥστε παραχρῆμα πίπτοντας ἐπὶ

laws and ordered their political institutions. He also divided them into twelve tribes, since this is regarded as the most perfect number and corresponds to the number of months that make up a year. But he had no images whatsoever of the gods made for them, being of the opinion that God is not in human form<sup>1</sup>; rather the Heaven that surrounds the earth is alone divine, and rules the universe.<sup>2</sup> The sacrifices that he established differ from those of other nations, as does their way of living, for as a result of their own expulsion from Egypt he introduced an unsocial and intolerant mode of life. He picked out the men of most refinement and with the greatest ability to head the entire nation, and appointed them priests; and he ordained that they should occupy themselves with the temple and the honours and sacrifices offered to their god. These same men he appointed to be judges in all major disputes, and entrusted to them the guardianship of the laws and customs. For this reason the Jews never have a king, and authority over the people is regularly vested in whichever priest is regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue. They call this man the high priest, and believe that he acts as a messenger to them of God's commandments. It is he, we are told, who in their assemblies and other gatherings announces what is ordained, and the Jews are so docile in such matters that straightway they fall to the ground and do reverence

occurs first in this passage of Hecataeus and in Epicurus, fr. 353, though the concept goes back at least to Xenophanes. <sup>2</sup> Hecataeus, perhaps misled by the occasional use of "Heaven" as a surrogate for the ineffable name of God (cp. οὐρανός in 1 Macc. 3. 18-19, 50, 60, Dan. 4. 23) has interpreted this in terms familiar to Greek thought.

<sup>1</sup> For the prohibition on "graven images," see Exod. 20. 4. In extant Greek literature the word ἀνθρωπόμορφος apparently 282

τὴν γῆν προσκυνεῖν τὸν τούτοις ἐρμηνεύοντα ἀρχιερέα. προσγέγραπται δὲ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ὅτι Μωσῆς ἀκούσας τοῦ θεοῦ τὰδε λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. ἐποίησατο δ' ὁ νομοθέτης τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἔργων πολλὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡνάγκαζεν ἀσκεῖν ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ καρτερίαν καὶ τὸ  
 7 σύνολον ὑπομονὴν πάσης κακοπαθείας. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ καὶ στρατείας εἰς τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἔθνων, καὶ πολλὴν κατακτησάμενος χώραν κατεκληροῦχεν, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις ἴσους ποιήσας κλήρους, τοῖς δ' ἱερεῦσι μείζονας, ἵνα λαμβάνοντες ἀξιολογώτερας προσόδους ἀπερίσπαστοι συνεχῶς προσεδρεύωσι ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμαῖς. οὐκ ἐξῆν δὲ τοῖς ἰδιώταις τοὺς ἰδίους κλήρους πωλεῖν, ὅπως μή τις διὰ πλεονεξίαν ἀγοράζοντες τοὺς κλήρους ἐκθλίβωσι τοὺς ἀπορωτέρους καὶ κατασκευάζωσιν ὀλιγαν  
 8 δρίαν. τεκνοτροφεῖν τε ἡνάγκαζε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας· καὶ δι' ὀλίγης δαπάνης ἐκτρεφόμενων τῶν βρεφῶν αἰεὶ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπῆρχε πολυάνθρωπον. καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν τελευτώντων ταφὰς πολὺ τὸ παρηλλαγμένον ἔχειν ἐποίησε νόμιμα πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὕστερον γενομένας ἐπικρατείας ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐπιμιξίας ἐπὶ τε τῆς<sup>1</sup> τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν ταύτην καταλυσάντων Μακεδόνων πολλὰ τῶν πατριῶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις νομίμων

<sup>1</sup> τε τῆς Bekker : τετάρτης.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Deut. 29. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hecataeus makes a similar comment about the Egyptians  
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to the high priest when he expounds the commandments to them. And at the end of their laws there is even appended the statement: "These are the words that Moses heard from God and declares unto the Jews."<sup>1</sup> Their lawgiver was careful also to make provision for warfare, and required the young men to cultivate manliness, steadfastness, and, generally, the endurance of every hardship. He led out military expeditions against the neighbouring tribes, and after annexing much land apportioned it out, assigning equal allotments to private citizens and greater ones to the priests, in order that they, by virtue of receiving more ample revenues, might be undistracted and apply themselves continually to the worship of God. The common citizens were forbidden to sell their individual plots, lest there be some who for their own advantage should buy them up, and by oppressing the poorer classes bring on a scarcity of manpower. He required those who dwelt in the land to rear their children,<sup>2</sup> and since offspring could be cared for at little cost, the Jews were from the start a populous nation. As to marriage and the burial of the dead, he saw to it that their customs should differ widely from those of other men. But later, when they became subject to foreign rule, as a result of their mingling with men of other nations (both under Persian rule and under that of the Macedonians who overthrew the Persians), many of their tradi-

(cp. above, Book 1. 80. 3); in both passages there is an implicit contrast with the common Greek practice of exposing unwanted infants. Josephus, *Against Apion*, 2. 202, speaks of this as an express injunction of the Law, though it does not, in fact, occur in the Mosaic codes. Cp., however, the recurrent "Be fruitful and multiply" throughout Genesis, and the condemnation of Onan, Gen. 38. 8-10.



ἐκινήθη. . . . περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα ἱστορεῖ.

(Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 380-381 B.)

4. "Ὅτι ὁ Πομπήσιος τὰς ἰδίας πράξεις ἃς συνέτελεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναγράφας ἀνέθηκεν, ὡν ἔστιν ἀντίγραφον τόδε. Πομπήσιος Γναίου υἱὸς Μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν παράλιον τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐντὸς Ὠκεανοῦ νήσους ἐλευθερώσας τοῦ πειρατικοῦ πολέμου, ὁ ῥυσάμενός ποτε πολιορκουμένην τὴν Ἀριοβαρζάνου βασιλείαν, Γαλατίαν τε καὶ τὰς ὑπερκειμένας χώρας καὶ ἐπαρχίας, Ἀσίαν, Βιθυνίαν, Ἀρμεσπίσας δὲ Παφλαγονίαν τε καὶ τὸν Πόντον, Ἀρμενίαν τε καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐτι δὲ Ἰβηρίαν, Κολχίδα, Μεσσοποταμίαν, Σωφηνήν, Γορδυνήν, ὑποτάξας δὲ βασιλέα Μήδων Δαρεῖον, βασιλέα Ἀρτώλην Ἰβήρων, βασιλέα Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίων, βασιλέα Ἀρέταν Ναβαταίων<sup>2</sup> Ἀράβων, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Κιλικίαν Συρίαν, Ἰουδαίαν, Ἀραβίαν, Κυρηναϊκὴν ἐπαρχίαν, Ἀχαιοὺς, Ἰοζυγούς, Σοα-  
νοὺς,<sup>3</sup> Ἡνιόχους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φύλα τὰ<sup>4</sup> μεταξὺ Κολχίδος καὶ Μαιώτιδος λίμνης τὴν παράλιον διακατέχοντα καὶ τοὺς τούτων βασιλεῖς ἐννέα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐντὸς τῆς Ποντικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης κατοικοῦντα, καὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῖς ὅροις τῆς γῆς προσβιβάσας, καὶ τὰς προσόδους Ῥωμαίων φυλάξας,<sup>5</sup> ἃς δὲ προσαυξήσας, τοὺς τε ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling : Μιλήσιος.

<sup>2</sup> βασιλέα after Ναβαταίων deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf (cp. Strabo, 11. 2. 14, p. 497 ; 11. 2. 19, p. 499) : Σολνοὺς V.

<sup>4</sup> τὰ added by Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> φυλάξας] ἃς μὲν διαφυλάξας Herwerden.

tional practices were disturbed. Such is the account of Hecataeus of Abdera<sup>1</sup> in regard to the Jews.

4. Pompey had inscribed on a tablet, which he<sup>61 B.C.</sup> set up as a dedication, the record of his achievements in Asia.<sup>2</sup> Here is a copy of the inscription : " Pompey the Great, son of Gnaeus, Imperator, having liberated the seacoast of the inhabited world and all islands this side Ocean from the war with the pirates—being likewise the man who delivered from siege the kingdom of Ariobarzanes,<sup>3</sup> Galatia and the lands and provinces lying beyond it, Asia, and Bithynia ; who gave protection to Paphlagonia and Pontus, Armenia and Achaia,<sup>4</sup> as well as Iberia, Colchis, Mesopotamia, Sophenê, and Gordyenê ; brought into subjection Darius king of the Medes, Artolēs<sup>5</sup> king of the Iberians, Aristobulus king of the Jews, Aretas king of the Nabataean Arabs, Syria bordering on Cilicia, Judaea, Arabia, the province of Cyrenê,<sup>6</sup> the Achaeans, the Iozygi, the Soani, the Heniochi, and the other tribes along the seacoast between Colchis and the Maeotic Sea, with their kings, nine in number, and all the nations that dwell between the Pontic and the Red Seas<sup>7</sup> ; extended the frontiers of the Empire to the limits of the earth ; and secured and in some cases increased the revenues of the Roman people—he, by confiscation of the statues and the

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the false ascription to Hecataeus of Miletus (see critical note) comes from Photius rather than Diodorus.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription may be compared both with the *Columna rostrata* of C. Duilius and with the *Res Gestae* of Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> Ariobarzanes I, king of Cappadocia.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* the Scythian Achaia : see Appian, *Mith.* 102 ; Strabo, 11. 2. 12, p. 495.

<sup>5</sup> Or Artoces (Dio Cassius, 37. 2 ; Appian, *Mith.* 103).

<sup>6</sup> Cyrenê had been organized as a province in 75/4 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> *i.e.* the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf.

ἀφιδρύματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν κόσμον τῶν πολεμίων ἀφελόμενος ἀνέθηκε τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐξήκοντα, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριακόσια ἑπτὰ. (Const. Exc. 4, pp. 405-406.)

5. "Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Κατιλίνας τις κατά-  
χρεως<sup>1</sup> καὶ Λέντλος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Σούρας  
ἀθροίσαντες ὄχλον<sup>2</sup> ἀπόστασιν ἐμελέτησαν κατὰ  
τῆς συγκλήτου τοιῶδέ τινα τρόπον. μελλούσης τινὸς  
ἐορτῆς εἶναι, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἦν τοὺς πατρωνευο-  
μένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς ὄντων ξένια πέμπειν,  
καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν<sup>3</sup> αἰτίαν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς  
ἀνεῶχθαι τὰς οἰκίας συνέβαινε· συνέθεντο οὖν κατὰ  
τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν εἰσπέμπειν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἐπιβου-  
λευομένων οἰκίας τοὺς προσάζοντας<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῖς τὰς  
χεῖρας· οὗς ἔδει τὴν μὲν φαντασίαν χάριν τῆς τῶν  
ξενίων εἰσφορᾶς ἀνυπόπτως εἰσελθόντας, καὶ ἀδή-  
λως παρεζωσμένους<sup>5</sup> ξίφη καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ἐφ'  
ἐκάστη οἰκίᾳ μεμερισμένους ὑφ' ἑνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν  
καιρὸν ἅπασαν σχεδὸν τὴν σύγκλητον ἀνελεῖν.  
τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον διεσκευασμένης τῆς ἐπιβου-  
λῆς, παραδόξως διεσώθησαν. ὄντων γὰρ πλείονων  
ἢ τετρακοσίων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν τεταγμέ-  
νων, ἕνα τούτων διακεείμενον ἐρωτικῶς πρὸς τινα

<sup>1</sup> So Feder, Müller: κατάχρεων S.

<sup>2</sup> So Feder, Müller: ὄχλων S.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν added by Feder.

<sup>4</sup> προσοίσοντας Herwerden, Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> So Feder, Müller: παρεζωσμένους S.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny (N.H. 7. 97-98) says that the dedication was made  
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images set up to the gods, as well as other valuables taken from the enemy, has dedicated to the goddess<sup>1</sup> twelve thousand and sixty pieces of gold and three hundred and seven talents of silver."

5. At Rome a certain insolvent debtor named<sup>63 B.C.</sup> Catiline and Lentulus surnamed Sura<sup>2</sup> gathered a mob and fomented sedition against the senate, as follows. A certain festival<sup>3</sup> was approaching when it was customary for the clients of prominent men to send gifts, and for this reason houses were kept open all through the night. The conspirators agreed, therefore, to use this opportunity to introduce into the houses of their intended victims men whose business it would be to lay violent hands upon them. With swords concealed at their girdles they were to gain entry without rousing suspicion, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing gifts, and, distributed a few to each house, at one and the same time to do away with virtually the entire senate. Though the plot had been thus carefully planned, by a miracle the victims escaped assassination. For among the more than four hundred men who were detailed to do the killing, there was one<sup>4</sup> who was in love with a certain girl and who, on being

to Minerva. Apparently Diodorus completed the story of Pompey's eastern campaign and his subsequent triumph before taking up the Catilinarian conspiracy.

<sup>2</sup> L. Sergius Catilina and P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.

<sup>3</sup> The Saturnalia (Plutarch, *Cicero*, 18. 2; cp. Sallust, *Cat.* 43).

<sup>4</sup> Q. Curius. The woman was a certain Fulvia. Our sources differ somewhat on the exact occasion of her informing on the conspirators, but Sallust at least suggests that she was employed by Cicero as a spy: Sallust, *Cat.* 26 and cp. 23; Appian, *B.C.* 2. 3. Plutarch, *Cicero*, 16. 2, apparently refers to an earlier plan.

παιδίσκην καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης παραθεωρούμενον πλεονάκις λέγειν φασὶν ὅτι<sup>1</sup> μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας<sup>2</sup> ἔσται τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτῆς κύριος. τῆς δὲ θαυμαζούσης τὸ ῥηθὲν καὶ μὴ δυναμένης νοῆσαι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀπειλῆς,<sup>3</sup> τὸν μὲν νεανίσκον μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατάσεως,<sup>4</sup> τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὴν συμπεριφορὰν καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ μέθην ὑποκριναμένην κεχαρισμένας ὁμιλίας<sup>5</sup> ἀξιούσιν δηλῶσαι τίνα ποτὲ νοῦν ἔχει τὸ ῥηθὲν. τὸν δὲ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα βουλόμενον ταύτῃ χαρίσασθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν μηνῦσαι. τὴν δὲ προσποιηθεῖσαν μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ χαρᾶς δεδέχθαι τὸν λόγον σιωπῆσαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου Κικέρωνος γυναῖκα καταντήσασαν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν διαλεχθεῖσαν περὶ τούτων ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοὺς ῥηθέντας λόγους ὑπὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ φανερὰν γενέσθαι τὴν τούτων συνωμοσίαν. τὸν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀνατάσει καὶ φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ παρακλήσει φιλανθρώπῳ χρησάμενον μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ὅλην ἐπιβουλήν.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 211-212.)

5a. Ὅτι Λεύκιος Σέργιος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Κατιλίνας κατάχρεως γεγονὼς ἀποστασιν ἐμελέτησεν, ὃ δὲ Μάρκος<sup>6</sup> Κικέρων ὁ ὑπάτος λόγον διετίθετο περὶ τῆς προσδοκωμένης ταραχῆς. καὶ κληθέντος Κατιλίνᾳ καὶ τῆς κατηγορίας κατὰ πρόσωπον γινωμένης, ὃ Κατιλίνας κατ' οὐδένα τῶν τρόπων ἔφησεν ἑαυτοῦ καταγνώσεσθαι φυγὴν ἐκούσιον καὶ ἄκριτον. ὃ δὲ Κικέρων ἐπηρώτησε τοὺς συγκλητικούς εἰ δοκεῖ μεταναστῆναι τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. σιωπῶντων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν διὰ τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐντροπήν, δι' ἑτέρου τρόπου, καθάπερ ἐλέγξει τὴν σύγκλητον ἀκριβῶς βουλόμενος, τὸ δεύτερον ἐπηρώ-

slighted by her, remarked more than once that within a few days her very life would be in his power. The remark puzzled her, and she could not guess what grounds he had for his threat, but still the young man remained insistent. When they were together, therefore, and drinking, she feigned extreme delight at his company and asked him to tell her what in the world his remark meant, and he, wishing in his infatuation to please her, disclosed the whole truth. She pretended to have taken what was said sympathetically and joyfully, and held her peace, but on the morrow went to the wife of Cicero the consul, and speaking privately with her about the matter reported what the young man had said. Thus was the conspiracy brought to light, and the consul, by using now threats and terror, now kindly exhortations, learned from them full details of the plot.

5a. Lucius Sergius, surnamed Catiline, on finding himself deep in debt had fomented an insurrection, and the consul Marcus Cicero was composing a speech on the anticipated disturbance. Catiline, on being openly named and accused to his face, declared that under no circumstances would he condemn himself to voluntary exile without a trial. Cicero put the question to the senators, whether it was their wish to banish Catiline from the city. When the majority, abashed by the man's presence, remained silent, Cicero, wishing as it were to probe their sentiments exactly, turned the question and

<sup>1</sup> φασὶν ὅτι added by Feder.

<sup>2</sup> So Feder, Müller: μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας S.

<sup>3</sup> So Feder, Dindorf: ὁμιλίας S.

<sup>4</sup> So Feder, Müller: ἀναστάσεως S.

<sup>5</sup> So Müller: κεχαρισμένας ὁμιλίας S.

<sup>6</sup> ὃ after Μάρκος deleted by Herwerden.



τησε τοὺς συνέδρους εἰ κελεύουσι Κόιντον<sup>1</sup> Κάτλον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης μεταστήσασθαι.<sup>2</sup> μὲν δὲ φωνῇ πάντων ἀναβοησάντων μὴ δοκεῖν καὶ δυσχεραίνοντων ἐπὶ τῷ ῥηθέντι, πάλιν<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν Κατιλίαν ἔφησεν, ὅταν τινὰ μὴ νομίσωσιν εἶναι ἐπιτήδειον φυγεῖν,<sup>4</sup> μεθ' ὅσης κραυγῆς ἀντιλέγουσιν· ὥστε εἶναι φανερόν ὅτι διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς ὁμολογοῦσι φυγῇ. ὁ δὲ Κατιλίνας εἰπὼν ὅτι βουλεύσεται καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνεχώρησεν.

2 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τῷ πλείονι πολέμιον καθίσταται τοῦλαττον. (Const. Exc. 4, p. 406.)

6. Μέννηται μὲν Βιργίλιος ταύτης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας,

Λουκιανὸς καὶ Γαληνὸς καὶ Πλούταρχος σὺν τούτοις,

Διόδωρος, Γεώργιος ὁ χρονικὸς σὺν ἄλλοις. (Tzetzes, Hist. 2, 31-33.)

7. [. . . τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πολέμου, ἣν τελευτῇ πεποιήμεθα τῆς ἱστορίας.]

(Diodorus, 1. 5. 1.)

2 [Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον ἥκιστα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίγνωσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον κεκλιμένων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης τῶν συναπτόντων τῇ διὰ ψυχῶς

<sup>1</sup> Mai, misled by his false reading Κατιλίαν, emended Κόιντον to Λεύκιον. For κελεύουσι Dindorf then proposed καλῶνται (accepted by Bekker). Dindorf<sup>4</sup> compounds confusion by gratuitously inserting Λεύκιον before Κόιντον.

<sup>2</sup> So Mai (or V ?): μεταστήσασθαι V (ed. Boissevain), μεταστήναι Herwerden.

asked the senators next whether they would order him to banish Quintus Catulus<sup>1</sup> from Rome. When with one voice they all shouted their disapproval and showed their displeasure at what was said, Cicero, reverting to Catiline, remarked that when they considered a man not deserving of banishment they shouted with all their might; hence it was evident that by silence they were agreeing to his banishment. Catiline, after stating that he would think it over in private, withdrew.

According to the proverb the less is the enemy of the more.

6. This Cleopatra is mentioned by Virgil, Lucian, Galen, along with Plutarch, and by Diodorus and George the chronicler among others.

7. [. . . the beginning of the Gallic War, which we have made the end of our history.]

[This part of the inhabited world and that about the British Isles and the arctic regions have fallen least of all within the range of men's common knowledge. But as for the northern latitudes adjacent to the region that is uninhabited because of the cold, we shall discuss them when we come to write of the

<sup>1</sup> Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul in 78 and censor in 65 B.C., one of the most highly respected members of the senate. T. Reinach, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 17 (1904), 5-11, comparing the fragment with Cicero's *First Catilinarian*, 20-21, argues that it presents a more authentic account of what occurred than the edited speech, which was not published till three years after the event (Cicero, *Ad Att.* 2. 1. 3). The credit for establishing an intelligible text of this important passage belongs to Herwerden, who recovered the name of Catulus, where Mai had misread Catiline (see critical note).

<sup>3</sup> ῥηθέντι, πάλιν Nock: πάλιν ῥηθέντι V, πάλιν ἐρωτηθέντι Herwerden.

<sup>4</sup> So Herwerden: φυγῆς V.

δοικῆται διέξιμεν, ὅταν τὰς Γαίον Καίσαρος πράξεις ἀναγράψωμεν· οὗτος γὰρ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη πορρωτάτω προβέβασας πάντα τὸν πρότερον ἀγνοούμενον τόπον ἐποίησε πεσεῖν εἰς σύνταξιν ἱστορίας.]

(Diodorus, 3. 38. 2-3.)

- 3 [Καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐπονομασθεὶς θεὸς πρῶτος τῶν μνημονουμένων ἐχειρώσατο τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς καταπολεμήσας ἠνάγκασε τελεῖν ὠρισμένους φόρους. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰς κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν.]

(Diodorus, 5. 21. 2.)

- 4 [Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν νομίμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιωμάτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψομεν ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος γενομένην στρατείαν εἰς Βρετανίαν παραγεννηθῶμεν.]

(Diodorus, 5. 22. 1.)

8. Ὅτι τῶν βιβλίων τινὲς πρὸ τοῦ διορθωθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ συντέλειαν λαβεῖν κλαπεῖσαι προεξεδόθησαν, οὕτω συνευαρεστούμενων ἡμῶν τῇ γραφῇ· ὥς ἡμεῖς ἀποποιούμεθα. ἵνα δὲ αὐταὶ φανεραὶ γινόμεναι μὴ λυμαίνωνται τὴν ὅλην ἐπιβολὴν τῆς ἱστορίας, ἐκρίναμεν δεῖν τὸν ἐλέγχοντα λόγον τὴν ἀγνοίαν ἐκθέσθαι. ἐν τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ βιβλίοις περιειληφότες τὴν πραγματείαν, ἐν μὲν ἕξ<sup>1</sup> ταῖς πρώταις ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις τε καὶ μυθολογίας, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταύταις ἐπ' ἀκριβείας οὐ διωρισάμεθα διὰ τὸ μηδὲν παράπηγμα<sup>2</sup> περὶ τούτων παρῆναι. . . .<sup>3</sup>

(Const. Exc. 4, pp. 406-407.)

deeds of Gaius Caesar; for it was he who extended the Roman Empire farthest in that direction, and brought all the area that was previously unknown within the scope of history.]

[In our own times Gaius Caesar, who by his deeds won the title *divus*, was the first on record to have conquered the island, and by defeating the Britons in war compelled them to pay fixed tribute. But as for these matters we shall record the particulars of his enterprise at the appropriate times.]

[As for their customs and other peculiarities we shall record them in detail when we come to Caesar's campaign against Britain.]

8. Some of the books were pirated and published before being corrected and before they had received the finishing touches, at a time when we were not yet fully satisfied with the work. These we disown. But in order that these books, by getting before the public, may not mar the general plan of our history, we have deemed it necessary to publish a statement that will expose any misconception. Our subject matter is contained within forty books, and in the first six we have recorded the events and legends prior to the Trojan War. In these we have not fixed the dates with any precision, since no chronological record of them was at hand. . . .

<sup>1</sup> ἕξ added by Dindorf (cp. Book 1. 4. 6).

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf (cp. Book 1. 5. 1): παράδειγμα V.

<sup>3</sup> παρεληφέναι πιστευόμενον Boissvain (cp. Book 1. 5. 1), παρεληφέναι Dindorf, παρῆναι Mai.

## FRAGMENTA SEDIS INCERTAE

1. [Περὶ δὲ τῶν συμπτωμάτων μεγάλης οὔσης ζήτησεως, οἱ μὲν φυσικοὶ πειρῶνται τὰς αἰτίας τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς φυσικάς τινας καὶ κατηναγκασμένας περιστάσεις, οἱ δ' εὐσεβῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον πιθανάς τινας αἰτίας ἀποδιδούσι τοῦ συμβάντος, ὡς διὰ θεῶν μῆνιν γεγενημένης τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβήσασιν· περὶ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψαι πειρασόμεθα τῇ κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίᾳ.]

(Diodorus, 15. 48. 4.)

1a. [Ὁ γὰρ Δουκέτιος τὴν Παλικὴν κτίσας καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῳ τείχει, κατεκληρούχησε τὴν ὁμορον χώραν. συνέβη δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκητόρων ταχεῖαν λαβεῖν αὔξησιν. οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον εὐδαιμονήσασα κατεσκάφη, καὶ διέμεινε ἀοίκητος μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων· περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφομεν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις.]

(Diodorus, 11. 90. 1-2.)

2. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Σικελιώτης Διόδωρος τὸν Ζωῖλον

<sup>1</sup> The promised discussion may have come in connection with the great earthquake at Rhodes, mentioned in Book 26. 8.

## FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

1. [These disasters (earthquakes and tidal waves) have been the subject of much discussion. Natural scientists make it their endeavour to attribute responsibility in such cases not to divine providence, but to certain natural circumstances determined by necessary causes, whereas those who are disposed to venerate the divine power assign certain plausible reasons for the occurrence, alleging that the disaster was occasioned by the anger of the gods at those who had committed sacrilege. This question I too shall endeavour to deal with in detail in a special chapter of my history.<sup>1</sup>]

1a. [Ducetius, having founded Palicê and enclosed it with a fine wall, divided up and apportioned the adjacent territory. And it came to pass that this city, because of the excellence of the soil and the number of its inhabitants, grew swiftly. But after no very long period of prosperity it was levelled to the ground and remained uninhabited down to our own times: the details of this matter I shall relate at the proper time.<sup>2</sup>]

2. The Siceliote Diodorus says that this Zoilus<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The account of Palicê probably appeared in the narrative of the Second Servile War: cp. Book 36. 3. 3 and 36. 7. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Zoilus of Amphipolis, a 4th-century Cynic philosopher. A number of works are ascribed to him. His denunciations of Homer won him the nickname Homeromastix.



## DIODORUS OF SICILY

τοῦτον οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔτι γεγραφέναι φησὶν ἢ τὴν καθ' Ὁμήρου ἣν εἵπομεν σύνταξιν.

(Tzetzes, *Scholium ad Exegesis in Iliadem*, p. 126.<sup>1</sup>)

3. Πλούταρχος, Διονύσιος, Διόδωρος καὶ Δίων τὰ τῶν Κατῶνων γράφουσι καὶ τὰ τῶν Σκηπιῶνων. (Tzetzes, *Hist.* 3. 154-155.)

4. = Book 8. 26.

5. (Ἀντικατέστησαν) Διόδωρος. Οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀντικατέστησαν.

6. (Ἐντείνας ἑαυτὸν) Διόδωρος. Ἐς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν καὶ εὐτελεῖ βίον ἐντείνας.

7. (Ἐξακριβωθέντες) Διόδωρος. Ἄνδρες ἐξακριβωθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως εἰς μέγεθός τε καὶ ὕψος σωμάτων καὶ τόλμης δξύτητα καὶ ἀγερωχίαν.

8. (Κλίμακες) Διόδωρος. Ἐξῆς δ' ἐκομίζοντο κλίμακες ὡς, παντευχίας πολυτελεῖς ἔχουσαι.

9. (Στεγανόν) Καὶ Διόδωρος. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι στεγανὰ ποιήσαντες παρεχέμαζον.

10. (Συνεῖχεν) Διόδωρος. Ὁ δὲ συνεῖχεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι στρατιώτας,<sup>2</sup> παράδειγμα ὑποθεῖς ἑαυτὸν.

11. (Ὑποστάς) Διόδωρος. Ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ταύτην συμβαλεῖσθαι.

12. (Χαλάσω) Διόδωρος. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως χαλῶντος καὶ παραλυομένου πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ πράττειν ὃ βούλεται.

13. (Χρῶμα) Διόδωρος. Ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος μαστιζόμενος, ὄμμα ἔχων ἄτρεπτον καὶ χρῶμα καθάπερ θηρίον ἐκαρτέρει. (Suidas, s.v.)

14. Κρείσσω σοφὸς ἰσχυροῦ.

(Antonius Melissa, 1. 10.<sup>3</sup>)

## FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

wrote nothing in addition to the treatise *Against Homer* of which we spoke.

3. Plutarch, Dionysius, Diodorus, and Dio give accounts of the Catos and the Scipios.

4. = Book 8. 26.

5. Those who were left opposed one another.

6. Devoting himself to the mean life of a common soldier.

7. Men who had been carefully sought out by the king for their size and height, their keen daring, and their lordly manner.

8. Next in the procession came eight hundred frames on which costly panoplies were mounted.<sup>1</sup>

9. The Romans built waterproof shelters and spent the winter there.

10. He constrained them to be soldiers by setting himself before them as a model.

11. Promising that they too would contribute to this undertaking.

12. Since in the face of these words the king was losing his grip and weakening, he allowed him to do what he pleased.

13. The barbarian, on being flogged, did not change expression or colour, but like a dumb beast suffered in silence.

14. The wise man is superior to the strong.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 31. 8. 10, and note *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf gives this as no. 1 of his *Fragmenta Dubia*. His two other doubtful fragments are here omitted, as they seem certainly to belong to other authors named Diodorus. Also omitted are a number of unidentified passages in Suidas that have been tentatively ascribed to Diodorus by some scholars.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Hermann, Leipzig, 1812.

<sup>2</sup> εἶναι στρατιώτας ἐν στρατείᾳ Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 136.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

15. Κινήσεώς τε αὐθις ἐμφυλίου γενομένης, Σύλ-  
λαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἢ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ  
προεβάλετο.<sup>1</sup> τῶν γὰρ ἱππέων ἅμα πάντων συμ-  
φραξαμένων καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἢ περ ἄρχεσθαι  
βουλομένων, πολλάκις τε σὺν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ  
ἐς ἐναντίωσιν ἐλθεῖν πειρωμένων,<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἦν  
τοῖς ἐν τέλει. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρημένην  
αὐθις διελθὼν<sup>3</sup> ἀρχὴν, σύνθημα<sup>4</sup> τοῖς κατὰ τὴν  
Ἰταλίαν ἀνδράσι λαθὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς τῆς Ῥώμης  
ἔδωκεν, ἐγχειρίδιά τε αὐτοὺς ξίφη κομιζομένους  
εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν<sup>5</sup> προσέταξεν, ὅπηνίκα τῆς  
Ῥέας<sup>6</sup> ἡμέραν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος πανηγυρίζειν  
ἄρξεται<sup>7</sup> (αὕτη δὲ<sup>8</sup> κατὰ τὴν πρώτην Ἰαννουαρίου  
μηνὸς εἴωθεν ἄγεσθαι<sup>9</sup>) ὥς ἂν δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς τῆς  
πόλεως ἱππεῖς<sup>10</sup> διαχρήσῃται. ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν  
Ἰταλίαν ὄχλος<sup>11</sup> ἐναντία τοῖς στρατιώταις φρονῶν

<sup>1</sup> προεβάλετο L (= Codex Athous 4932).

<sup>2</sup> P omits καὶ μᾶλλον . . . πειρωμένων.

<sup>3</sup> αὐθις διελθὼν L, ἐλθὼν P.

<sup>4</sup> σύνθημα L.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν τῇ πόλει L.

<sup>6</sup> τὴν Ῥέαν L (the scribe originally omitted ἡμέρα [sic], which was inserted later).

<sup>7</sup> ὁ Ῥωμαίων . . . ἄρξεται<sup>7</sup> πανηγυρίζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι P.

<sup>8</sup> So Dragoumis: τε L.

<sup>9</sup> P omits αὕτη . . . ἄγεσθαι.

<sup>10</sup> τοὺς . . . ἱππεῖς Müller, τοῖς . . . ἱππεῦσι LP.

<sup>11</sup> ὄχλος P, δῆμος L.

<sup>1</sup> A slightly abbreviated version of this passage has long been known from the Constantinian *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*. It lacks, however, the reference to Plutarch and Diodorus, and since it seemed to rest on no authority earlier than the seventh-century chronicler, it was all but ignored. The full text was published by S. P. Lambros in 1904, as part of an extensive fragment of John of Antioch, in its 300

## FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

15. Upon the renewal of civil strife the Roman<sup>88 or 82/1 B.C. (?)</sup> senate proposed that Sulla be granted dictatorial powers.<sup>1</sup> For all the knights had banded together, wishing to rule rather than be ruled, and since they repeatedly attempted to oppose the senate the situation was intolerable to the government. Accordingly Sulla, having again attained this office, made a secret agreement with men throughout Italy, unbeknown to anyone at Rome, and ordered them to arm themselves with daggers and enter the city at the time when the Roman people would be starting to celebrate the festival of Rhea (this normally occurs about the first of January),<sup>2</sup> so that with their help he might destroy the urban knights. Since the Italian rabble was hostile to the soldiers they duly appeared on the

original form, preserved in Codex Athous 4932, but the publication attracted little attention.

Our passage is immediately preceded by familiar material on Sulla's dictatorship drawn chiefly from Plutarch (*Sulla*, 31-32, 34), who is at one point cited by name. The present story, however, despite the express citation of Plutarch and Diodorus, has no known parallels. It is not clear whether these authors are cited for the whole episode or only for the detail of the barbarian raids. At best it is a garbled version of the facts, but it possibly reflects, however unfaithfully, Diodorus' account, of which so few fragments survive. The "second" dictatorship attributed to Sulla may be the result of a clumsy attempt to combine material from different sources; in general the elements of the story seem to fit better the context of Sulla's first consulship, 88 B.C., than any time after his return to power late in 82 B.C. If the earlier date is correct, the passage should follow Books 38/9. 5, otherwise it belongs with Books 38/9. 17-19.

<sup>2</sup> No festival of Rhea (= Cybelé, or Mâ-Bellona?) was celebrated at Rome on January 1. For a discussion of this and other problems of interpretation see my article, "A Neglected Historical Text", *Historia*, 14 (1965), 236-251, esp. pp. 244 ff.

# DIODORUS OF SICILY

κατὰ τὴν ὠρισμένην ὑπὴντησεν,<sup>1</sup> ἀρξάμενός τε τῆς ἐμφυλίου κινήσεως, ἅμα τε καὶ τὸν δῆμον προσλαβόμενος, πολλοὺς τῶν ἱππέων διέφθειρεν.<sup>2</sup> τούτων δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πραττομένων μηνύσεις ἐκ τῶν πανταχόθεν ὑπηκόων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκοντο, βαρβάρων τε ἐπιδρομὰς ἀποφαίνουσαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ στρατηγούς Ῥωμαίων τὴν ταχίστην καταλαβεῖν τὰς χώρας ὑπομιμνήσκουσαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῶν<sup>3</sup> Πλουτάρχου εἰρήκαμεν. ὡς δὲ φησι Διόδωρος, οὐδὲν τούτων ἀπηγγέλθη, ἀλλ'<sup>4</sup> ὁ Σύλλας, βουλευθεὶς τὸν ὄχλον τῆς ἐμφυλίου ταραχῆς ἀποστῆσαι, ταῦτα<sup>5</sup> διεσοφίσατο. καὶ εὐθέως ἀναλαβὼν ἅπαντα τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπιστήσας τε αὐτοῖς στρατηγοὺς τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλλαξεν.<sup>6</sup>

(Ioannes Antiochenus, fr. 68, § 2: Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 1 (1904), pp. 28-30, *Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 173.)

# FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

appointed day, began to riot, and by enlisting the help of the populace did away with a large number of knights. While these events were taking place in the city, reports from the subject peoples everywhere reached Rome, announcing incursions of barbarians and suggesting that the Roman consuls and praetors should occupy their territories with all speed. I give this on the authority of Plutarch. Diodorus, however, says that no such reports existed, and that Sulla concocted them as a means of distracting the people and ending the disorders. For he promptly enrolled all the armies and assigned them commanders, and thus rid the city of the whole multitude.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὴντησεν P.

<sup>2</sup> διέφθειρε L.

<sup>3</sup> Lambros wrongly gives the reading as τοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> P omits μηνύσεις . . . ἀλλ', and inserts after διεσοφίσατο, below: μηνύσεις τινὰς ἐκ τῶν πανταχόθεν ὑπηκόων, βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομὰς ἐπιφαινούσας.

<sup>5</sup> P omits ταῦτα.

<sup>6</sup> ἀπὴλλαξε L.



# INDEX

RUSSEL M. GEER

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL LANGUAGES, EMERITUS  
TULANE UNIVERSITY

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE INDEX

THIS is primarily an index of names. Some few items dealing with economic, military, political and religious matters have been included, but with these the coverage is by no means complete. An effort has been made, however, to cover every occurrence of every proper name, including passages where the name is implied but not actually used. In the case of the larger geographical divisions this has often been done by an inclusive reference covering the events of a year or more, sometimes with a word or phrase in parentheses after the reference suggesting the events of the period. It has seemed most convenient to place in a single article under the name of a city or country all the material dealing with that city or country and with its people, although this is contrary to Diodorus' usage. With him "Athens," for example, is a geographical area. It is always the "Athenians" who act, never "Athens." Grouping the place and its people into a single article results in a mixture of singular and plural verbs which the user may find disturbing; but this is, I think, better than forcing him to consult two more or less parallel articles.

The index is based on the translation, and the

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE INDEX

spelling of certain names varies with the usage of the different translators. These variations are minor, and they very rarely cause any change in the position of the name in the alphabetical order. Diodorus' habitual inaccuracy in expressing Latin proper names presents a somewhat different problem. Here, if one followed the normal indexing practice of giving a name as the author gives it, a man who had held office three times might appear under three different names no one of which would be recognized by a person searching for him. The only way of bringing order out of chaos seemed to be to list each man under his full and correct name as given by Broughton (*Magistrates of the Roman Republic*) with cross references from Diodorus' vagaries where this seemed worth while. Men bearing the same name, either Greek or Roman, are given in chronological order or in order of first appearance. When the same name is found for persons and for places, the former are given precedence.

References are by volume (Roman numerals), book (boldfaced Arabic), chapter, and section (Arabic). Volume and book numbers are given only as needed; but chapter and section numbers are given for each item, the section number being given even if there is only one section in the chapter. In a few cases and for various different reasons the page of this edition has been added. For the complete books the division into chapters is uniform in all the editions of the past century and a half, but there are minor variations in the section numbers and one edition (Bekker, Teubner, 1853-1854) lacks these numbers. For the fragments there is no such uniformity. This edition follows the numbering introduced by the

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE INDEX

Vogel-Fischer edition (Teubner, 1888 ff.) in Books Six through Ten, and that of Dindorf's fourth edition (Teubner, 1866-1868) for the last ten books. A "concordance" following the Index will make possible its use with the older editions and also will make it easier to find in this edition fragments cited by the older numberings.

To facilitate identifying items and locating items within the longer articles dates have been introduced where feasible. These are placed in parentheses, and each applies to the material following it up to the next date or to a full stop (period). For the complete books from Eleven through Twenty the dates are based on Diodorus' rather faulty division into archon years, the date printed being that of the calendar year in which the archon took office. For the fragments of the last twenty books the very full dating supplied in the margin by Professor Walton has been followed. For the first five books and for the fragments of the next five very few dates have been supplied. Obviously few dates are possible for the first six books, but more might have been done in Books Seven through Ten. However, this index has been prepared with rather limited library facilities available, and no real effort has been made to go beyond what was to be found in Professor Oldfather's notes. It should be emphasized that the dates are not intended to give exact chronological information but merely to make use of this somewhat cumbersome index a little easier.

RUSSEL M. GEER

MOUNT DORA, FLORIDA  
September 15, 1965



## TABLE OF OLYMPIADS AND OF YEARS

### BOOKS XI-XX

Diodorus begins his account of each year by giving the Athenian and Roman magistrates for that year, and in every fourth year he also gives the victor in the stadion race at Olympia and the number of the Olympiad. In the following table the Olympiad number is given in the first column. The second column gives the year B.C. assigned by modern historians to the archon named by Diodorus, and also the year assigned to the named Roman magistrates by the conventional Roman chronological system, which is based ultimately upon Varro. When the magistrates are other than consuls, that is indicated immediately after the Roman date. The third column gives the point in Diodorus where his account of the year begins.

OLYMPIADS	YEARS	
	GREEK ROMAN	DIODORUS
LXXV	480 = V486	IV, 11. 1. 2
	479 = V485	27. 1
	478 = V484	38. 1
	477 = V483	41. 1
		311

## TABLE OF OLYMPIADS AND OF YEARS

OLYMPIADS	YEARS	
	GREEK ROMAN	DIODORUS
LXXVI	476 = V481	IV, 11. 48. 1
	475 = V480	50. 1
	474 = V479	51. 1
	473 = V478	52. 1
	472 = V477	53. 1
LXXVII	471 = V476	54. 1
	470 = V475	60. 1
	469 = V474	63. 1
	468 = V473	65. 1
	467 = V472	66. 1
LXXVIII	466 = V471	67. 1
	465 = V470	69. 1
	464 = V469	70. 1
	463 = V468	71. 1
	462 = V467	74. 1
LXXIX	461 = V466	75. 1
	460 = V465	77. 1
	459 = V464	78. 1
	458 = V463	79. 1
	457 = V462	81. 1
LXXX	456 = V461	84. 1
	455 = V460	85. 1
	454 = V459	86. 1
	453 = V458	88. 1
	451 = V457	91. 1
LXXXI	450 = V457b	12. 3. 1
	449 = V456	4. 1
	448 = V455	5. 1
	447 = V454	6. 1
	446 = V453	7. 1
LXXXII	445 = V452	22. 1
	444 = V451 (Xviri)	23. 1
LXXXIII		
LXXXIV		

## TABLE OF OLYMPIADS AND OF YEARS

OLYMPIADS	YEARS	
	GREEK ROMAN	DIODORUS
	443 = V450 (Xviri)	IV, 12. 24. 1
	442 = V449	26. 1
	441 = V448	27. 1
	440 = V447	29. 1
	439 = V446	30. 1
LXXXV	438 = V445	31. 1
	437 = V444 (tr.)	32. 1
	436 = V443	33. 1
	435 = V442	34. 1
	434 = V441	35. 1
LXXXVI	433 = V440	36. 1
	432 = V439	37. 1
	431 = V438 (tr.)	38. 1
	430 = V437	V, 12. 43. 1
	429 = V436	46. 1
LXXXVII	428 = V435	49. 1
	427 = V434 (tr.)	53. 1
	426 = V433 (tr.)	58. 1
	425 = V432 (tr.)	60. 1
	424 = V431	65. 1
LXXXVIII	423 = V430	72. 1
	422 = V429	73. 1
	421 = V428	75. 1
	420 = V428b	77. 1
	419 = V427	78. 1
XC	418 = V426 (tr.)	80. 1
	417 = V425 (tr.)	81. 1
	416 = V424 (tr.)	82. 1
	415 = V418 (tr.)	13. 2. 1
	414 = V417 (tr.)	7. 1
XCI	413 = V416 (tr.)	9. 1
	412 = V415 (tr.)	34. 1
XCII		

## TABLE OF OLYMPIADS AND OF YEARS

OLYMPIADS	YEARS GREEK ROMAN	DIODORUS
	411 = V414 (tr.)	V, <b>3.</b> 38. 1
	410 = V413	43. 1
	409 = V412	54. 1
XCIII	408 = V411	68. 1
	407 = V410	76. 1
	406 = V409	80. 1
	405 = V408 (tr.)	104. 1
XCIV	404 = V407 (tr.)	VI, <b>14.</b> 3. 1
	403 = V406 (tr.)	12. 1
	402 = V405 (tr.)	17. 1
	401 = V404 (tr.)	19. 1
XCV	400 = V403 (tr.)	35. 1
	399 = V402 (tr.)	38. 1
	398 = V401 (tr.)	44. 1
	397 = V400 (tr.)	47. 1
XCVI	396 = V399 (tr.)	54. 1
	395 = V398 (tr.)	82. 1
	394 = V397 (tr.)	85. 1
	393 = V396 (tr.)	90. 1
XCVII	392 = V395 (tr.)	94. 1
	391 = V394 (tr.)	97. 1
	390 = V393	99. 1
	389 = V392	103. 1
XCVIII	388 = V391 (tr.)	107. 1
	387 = V390 (tr.)	110. 1
	386 = V394 (tr.)	<b>15.</b> 2. 1
	385 = V393	8. 1
XCIX	384 = V392	14. 1
	383 = V391 (tr.)	15. 1
	382 = V390 (tr.)	VII, <b>15.</b> 20. 1
	381 = V389 (tr.)	22. 1
C	380 = V388 (tr.)	23. 1

## TABLE OF OLYMPIADS AND OF YEARS

OLYMPIADS	YEARS GREEK ROMAN	DIODORUS
	379 = V387 (tr.)	VII, <b>15.</b> 24. 1
	378 = V386 (tr.)	25. 1
	377 = V385 (tr.)	28. 1
CI	376 = V384 (tr.)	36. 1
	375 = V383 (tr.)	38. 1
	374 = V382 (tr.)	41. 1
	373 = V381 (tr.)	48. 1
CII	372 = V380 (tr.)	50. 1
	371 = V379 (tr.)	51. 1
	370 = V378 (tr.)	57. 1
	369 = V377 (tr.)	61. 1
CIII	368 = V376 (tr.)	71. 1
	367 = V375 (No Roman magistrates)	75. 1
	366 = V370 (tr.)	76. 1
	365 = V369 (tr.)	77. 1
CIV	364 = V368 (tr.)	78. 1
	363 = V366	82. 1
	362 = V365	90. 1
	361 = V364	95. 1
CV	360 = V363	<b>16.</b> 2. 1
	359 = V362	4. 1
	358 = V361	6. 1
	357 = V360	9. 1
CVI	356 = V359	15. 1
	355 = V358	23. 1
	354 = V357	28. 1
	353 = V356	32. 1
CVII	352 = V355	37. 1
	351 = V354	40. 1
	350 = V353	46. 1
	349 = V352	52. 1



# TABLE OF OLYMPIADS AND OF YEARS

OLYMPIADS	YEARS	
	GREEK ROMAN	DIODORUS
CVIII	348 = V351	VII, 16. 53. 1
	347 = V350	56. 1
	346 = V349	59. 1
	345 = V345	VIII, 16. 66. 1
CIX	344 = V348	69. 1
	343 = V347	70. 1
	342 = V346	72. 1
	341 = V344	74. 1
CX	340 = V343	77. 1
	339 = V342	82. 1
	338 = V341	84. 1
	337 = V340	89. 1
CXI	336 = V339	91. 1
	335 = V338	17. 2. 1
	334 = V337	17. 1
	333 = V336	29. 1
CXII	332 = V335	40. 1
	331 = V334	49. 1
	330 = V332	62. 1
	329 = V331	74. 1
CXIII	328 = V330	82. 1
	327 = V329 (lost in lacuna)	
	326 = V328	87. 1
	325 = V327	110. 1
CXIV	324 = V326	113. 1
	323 = V325	IX, 18. 2. 1
	322 = V323	26. 1
	321 = V322	28. 2
(CXV)	320 = V321	40. 1
	319 = V320	44. 1
	318 = V319	58. 1
	317 = V318	19. 2. 1

# TABLE OF OLYMPIADS AND OF YEARS

OLYMPIADS	YEARS	
	GREEK ROMAN	DIODORUS
CXVI	316 = V317	IX, 19. 17. 1 <sup>1</sup>
	315 = V316	55. 1 <sup>2</sup>
	314 = V315	X, 19. 66. 1
	313 = V314	73. 1
CXVII	312 = V313	77. 1 <sup>2</sup>
	311 = V312	105. 1
	310 = V311	20. 3. 1
	309 = V310	27. 1
CXVIII	308	37. 1
	307	45. 1
	306	73. 1
	305	81. 1
CXIX	304	91. 1
	303	102. 1
	302	106. 1

For the special problems in the early part of Book 18, see Introduction to Vol. IX, p. xi.

## INDEX

### A

- Abacaenê (Abacaenum), in Sicily: (396) Dionysius takes land of, VI, 14. 78. 5-6; (393) he defeats Carthaginians near, 90. 3-4; (315) Agathocles slays enemies in, IX, 19. 65. 6; (311) deserts Agathocles, X, 19. 110. 4; (270) welcomes Hiero, XI, 22. 13. 2.
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Autariatae, Illyrian tribe: driven out by rain of frogs, II, 3. 30. 3; (310) Cassander transports, to place near Mt. Orbelus, X, 20. 19. 1; (302) in army of Lysimachus, 113. 3.

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Autolytus of Athens: (404) executed by the Thirty, IV, 14. 5. 7.

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Automala, in Cyrenê: (308) Ophellias with army near, X, 20. 41. 1-3.

Automenes: last king of Corinth, III, 7. 9. 6.

Autonoê: d. of Cadmus, II, 4. 2. 1; mother of Acteon by Aristaeus, III, 4. 81. 3.

Autophradates, satrap of Lydia: (362) a leader in satraps' revolt, VII, 15. 90. 3.

Aventine hill, in Rome: named for King Aventinus, III, 7. 5. 12; (443=V450) plebeians occupy, IV, 12. 24. 5.

Aventinus, king of Alba Longa: retreats to Aventine Hill, III, 7. 5. 12.

Avernus, Lake: sacred to Persephone; formed by Heracles, II, 4. 22. 1-2.

Axenos: name of Pontus Euxinus, II, 4. 40. 4.

Axiothea: (310) wife of Nicocles; kills self, X, 20. 21. 2-3.

Axius riv., in Macedon: XI, 31. 8. 8.

Azan: marries Hippolytê, II, 4. 33. 1.

Azizus, the Arab: (67) crowns Philip II Barypous, XII, 40. 1a. 1, then plots his death, 1b. 1.

Azof, Sea of: see Lake Maeotis.

Azones, in Sicily: (c. 278) Pyrrhus seizes, XI, 22. 10. 2.

Azorius, in Perhaebia: (316) Polyperchon besieged in, IX, 19. 52. 6.

Azotus, in Phoenicia: (312) Demetrius at, X, 19. 85. 1.

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—, treasurer of Alexander: (326) misuses funds, VIII, 17. 108. 4-6; flees to Athens, then to Taenarum, 108. 6-7; murdered by Thibron in Crete, 108. 8, IX, 18. 19. 2; (323) Athenians use money left by, in Lamian war, 9. 1, 4; Demosthenes in exile for taking funds of, VIII, 17. 108. 8, IX, 18. 13. 6.

— (172) envoy of Perseus to Rome, XI, 29. 34. 1.

Harpina, in Latium: *see* Arpinum.

Harpinê d. of Asopus: mother of

Oenomaüs by Ares, III, 4. 73. 1.

Hasdrubal s. of Hanno the Elder: (251) moves against Panormus but does nothing, XI, 23. 21. 1.

— son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca: (237) Hamilcar sends, from Iberia against Numidians, XI, 25. 10. 3; (229) in Iberia; acclaimed general on death of Hamilcar; (229-221) campaigns of, in Iberia; founds New Carthage; killed by a slave, 12. 1, 15. 1. Preferred peace to war, 11. 1.

— s. of Hamilcar Barca: (229) escapes when father is slain, XI, 25. 10. 4, 19. 1 (p. 165); (208) leads army into Italy; defeated and slain, 19. 1 (p. 169); praise of, as worthy of father and brother, 26. 24. 1. Fortune saved Rome from united forces of, and Hannibal, 24. 2.

—, leader in Third Punic war: (150) punished as responsible for war with Masinissa, XI, 32. 3. 1; (149) at war with Carthage, 6. 2; grants burial to three Romans, 8. 1; (147) during siege of Carthage, refuses asylum with Gullussa; lives in luxury as citizens starve, 22. 1; (146) conduct of, after fall of city, 23. 1.

hawk: held sacred in Egypt, I, 1. 83. 1, 3, 84. 3, 87. 6-8.

healing, art of: Apollo discovers, and teaches, to Asclepius, III, 5. 74. 5-6.

heaven: theories on formation of, I, 1. 6. 3-7. 7; Jews regard as, divine, XII, 40. 3. 4.

Hemithea: worshipped in Castabus, III, 5. 62. 4-63. 3.

Hebê: Heracles after apotheosis marries, II, 4. 39. 3.

Hebrus riv., in Illyria: (314) Cassander crosses, X, 19. 67. 6.

Hecabê: *see* Hecuba.

Hecataeus of Miletus, historian: cited, I, 1. 37. 3; (?) II, 2. 47. 1; (494) envoy from Ionians to Artaphernes, IV, 10. 25. 4.

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— of Abdera, historian: cited, I, 1. 46. 8-49. 5; (?) II, 2. 47. 1; XII, 40. 3. 1-8.

— agent of Alexander: (335) assassinates Attalus, VIII, 17. 2. 5-6, 5. 2; (323) Antipater sends, to Leonnatus for aid, IX, 13. 14. 4.

Hecate d. of Perseus: wife of Aëtes, and mother of Circe, Medea, and Aegialeus, II, 4. 45. 1-3, 46. 1; teaches use of drugs to Circe, 45. 3, and to Medea, 46. 1, 50. 6; temple of, near Memphis, I, 1. 96. 9.

Hecatomnus of Caria: (391) Artaxerxes sends, against Evagoras, VI, 14. 98. 3-4; (386) supports Evagoras against Artaxerxes, 15. 2. 3.

Hecatompylus, in Africa: Heracles founds, II, 4. 18. 1; (after 247) Carthaginians capture, 18. 1, XI, 24. 10. 2.

Hecatontapylus (Hecatompylus), in Parthia: (329) Alexander camps at, VIII, 17. 75. 1.

Hecetorus of Thrace: Sicelus and, kill each other, III, 5. 50. 7.

Hector: s. of Priam, wins distinction, III, 4. 75. 4; Ajax defeats, 5. 28. 4; dying, foretells Achilles' death, IX, 18. 1. 2; Amazons aid Troy after death of, II, 2. 46. 5.

Hecuba: wife of Priam, III, 4. 75. 4; (411) monument of, V, 13. 40. 6.

Hegelochus, Egyptian general: (127) defeats Alexandrians, XII, 34/5. 20. 1.

Hegesileas of Athens: (363) brings reinforcements to Mantinea, VII, 15. 84. 2.

Hegesippus of Halicarnassus: (307) officer of Demetrius, X, 20. 50. 4.

Hegetoria, a nymph: Ochimus marries, III, 5. 57. 7.

heirresses: law of Charondas on, IV, 12. 18. 3-4.

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Heliadae of Rhodes: spring from soil of Rhodes as flood recedes, III, 5. 56. 3; are first to sacrifice to Athena, 56. 5-7; skill of, in astrology, 57. 1; some of, leave Rhodes after murder of Tenages, 57. 2-6.

Heliades: (145) kills Alexander Balas, XI, 32. 9d. 1-10. 1 (p. 447).

Helicê, in Achaia: (373) earthquake destroys, VII, 15. 48. 1-3, possibly as punishment for sacrilege, 49. 1-3.

—, in Iberia: (229) Hamilcar camps before, XI, 25. 10. 3.

Heliopolis, in Egypt: Actis s. of Helius founds, III, 5. 57. 2; Sesosis builds wall from Pelusium to, 1. 57. 4; god of, honoured with obelisks, 59. 3-4; ten judges chosen from, 75. 3; called Heliopolis by Homer, 96. 7. *See* Mnevis of.

Heliopylai, Homeric name for Heliopolis, I, 1. 96. 7.

Hells, in Thrace: (292) Lysimachus at, XI, 21. 12. 2.

Helisus, in Arcadia: (352) Lacedaemonians plunder, VII, 16. 39. 5.

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— s. of Hyperion, II, 3. 57. 3-4; permits son Phaëthon to drive chariot of sun, III, 5. 23. 2; honoured by Rhodians as



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Helius, star of: Chaldaean name for planet Saturn, I, 2. 30. 3.

Hellanicus, historian: cited, I, 1. 37. 3.

Hellas: *see* Greece.

Hellē d. of Athamas: drowns in Hellespont, II, 4. 47. 1, 4-6.

Hellen s. of Deucalion: father of Dorus, III, 4. 60. 2, and of Aëolus; ancestor of Nestor, 67. 3, 68. 1.

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Hellenic League (Council at Corinth): (395) Boeotians, Athenians, and others establish Council at Corinth against Lacedaemonians, VI, 14. 82. 1-4; send force to aid Medius of Larissa, 82. 5; gather forces at Corinth, 82. 10; Conon admiral of Persian fleet confers with, 84. 5; (337) Philip summons a congress at Corinth which elects him general for war on Persia, VIII, 18. 89. 1-3; (335) elects Alexander in his place, 17. 4. 9; (332) sends wreath to Alexander, 48. 6; (330) refers to him matter of the Lacedaemonians, 73. 5-6.

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— of Xenophon: (411) begins, V, 13. 42. 5; (363) ends, VII, 15. 89. 3.

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Helorus riv., in Sicily: (c. 491) Hippocrates of Gela defeats Syracusans at, IV, 10. 28. 1<sup>a</sup>.

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Hyrcanus: (63) rebuked by Pompey for treatment of the Jews, XII, 40. 2. 1.

Hyslae, in Argolis: (417) Lacedaemonians take, V, 12. 81. 1.

Hystaspes s. of Xerxes: (465) absent when father is killed, IV, 11. 69. 2.

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Ialysia, in Rhodes: Heliadae found Achaia in, III, 5. 57. 6.

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- Media, Medes: location of, IX, 18, 5, 4; Tigris and Euphrates flow through, I, 2, 11, 2; Medus s. of Medea becomes king of, II, 4, 55, 5, 7, 56, 1, IV, 10, 27, 1, 3; Ninus of Assyria conquers, I, 2, 1, 9–2, 1; Semiramis in, II, 1, 13, 1–8; garb devised by her worn in, 6, 6; Assyrian empire overthrown by, under Arbaces, 24, 1–28, 8, 7, 2, 21, 8, 31, 10, 32, 2; become chief power in Asia, 32, 5; varying accounts of history of, 32, 1–34, 7; lists of kings of, 32, 5–6, 34, 1, 6; Cyaxares king of, 32, 2–3; Cadusii defeat King Artaxerxes of, 33, 1–6; become allies of Sacae after long war, 34, 1–2; Scythians remove Sauromatae from, II, 2, 43, 6; (c. 550) Persians under Cyrus the Great defeat, under Aspandasp (Astyages); kingdom of, passes to Persians, I, 2, 34, 6, 33, 6, IV, 9, 31, 2–3, 10, 13, 1, V, 13, 22, 1, VIII, 17, 81, 1; (525–522) Persians build palaces in, from Egyptian spoil, I, 1, 46, 4–5; Persians and, fail to conquer Nabataean Arabs, II, 2, 48, 5; plague of birds in, 3, 30, 3; (490) Datis calls Athens a colony of the, IV, 10, 27, 1–3; (480) in Persian army in Greece, II, 6, 3–7, 2, 14, 4; (479) Median war ends with fall of Sestus, 37, 1, 6; value of booty taken from, by Athens, 12, 40, 2; list of men famous in time of, and Persians, VII, 15, 88, 2; (470) defeated off Cyprus, IV, 11, 62, 3; (401) Artaxerxes gathers army in, VI, 14, 22, 1; (334) on Persian right at Granicus, VIII, 17, 19, 4; (330) Darius retires to, 64, 1; (329) Parmenion governor of, 80, 3; (328) Alexander founds city at pass leading to (?), 83, 1; (325) he returns to Ecbatana, capital of all, 110, 7; (323) assigned to Pithon of Bodyguard by Perdiccas, IX, 18, 3, 1, (321) by Antipater, 39, 6, 19, 12, 2, 14, 1; (317) Pithon withdraws to, 14, 3, and raises cavalry for Antigonos, 20, 2–3; Antigonos in, 19, 2–8, 21, 1, 24, 4, 32, 2; mounted archers from, in army of Antigonos, 29, 1–2, 39, 2, 40, 1, capture Eumenes' baggage train, 42, 2; (317/6) Antigonos winters in, 37, 1, 44, 4, 46, 1; Pithon satrap of, plots against Antigonos, 46, 2–3; (316) Antigonos appoints satrap and general for, 46, 5; Meleager and Menoetas harry, 47, 2–4; Antigonos acquires wealth of, 48, 8; (312) Seleucus takes, X, 19, 92, 1, 5, 100, 3, 6; Antiochus s. of Seleucus in, XI, 21, 20, 1; (161) Timarchus satrap of, raises army against Demetrius I Soter, 31, 27a, 1; (127) Eumenes (Himerus) sends Babylonians to, as slaves, XII, 34/5, 21, 1; (before 61) Cn. Pompey subdues Darius king of, 40, 4, 1. *See* Astyages, Datis, Deloces, Dionysius, the Cossacans.
- Media Atropatênê: (323) Perdiccas assigns, to Atropates, IX, 18, 3, 3.
- medicine: practice of, in Egypt, I, 1, 82, 1–3.
- Medius of Larissa: (395) with aid of Council at Corinth, seizes Pharsalus, VI, 14, 82, 5–6.
- of Thessaly: (324) "Friend" of Alexander, VIII, 17, 117, 1–5; (314) admiral of Antiochus, summoned from Phoenicia, X, 19, 69, 3; (313) frees Miletus, 75, 3–4; defeats Cassander; defeated, 75, 7–8; Antigonos sends, to Greece, then recalls, 77, 2, 5; (307) in battle against Ptolemy at Cyprian Salamis, 20, 50, 3.
- Medma, in Bruttium: (396) Dionysius settles folk of, in Messana, VI, 14, 78, 5.
- Medocus, king of Thrace: (405) Alcibiades promises to secure aid of, for Athens, V, 13, 105, 3; (392) becomes Athenian ally, VI, 14, 94, 2.
- Medullia, Latin city: Latinus Silvius founds, III, 7, 5, 9.

Medus s. of Medea and Aegeus: slays Perseus, II, 4. 56. 1; becomes king of Medes, 55. 5, 56. 1, IV, 10. 27. 1, 3; Datis claims, as ancestor, 27. 1.  
— s. of Medea and an eastern king: becomes king of Medes, II, 4. 55. 7.  
Medusa, queen of Gorgons, subdued by Perseus, II, 3. 55. 3.  
Megabari, tribe of Troglodytes, II, 3. 33. 1.  
Megabates, admiral of Xerxes: (480) tries to encircle Greeks, IV, 11, 12. 2-3; moves to Euboea, sacking Histiaeae, 13. 5.  
Megabyzus (Zopyrus), friend of Darius: (c. 520) betrays Babylon to Darius, IV, 10. 19. 2-3.  
—, general of Artaxerxes: (461) commands force sent to Egypt, IV, 11. 74. 6-75. 2; (460) permits Athenians to depart, 77. 4; (450) Athenians defeat, in Cilicia, 12. 3. 2-4; (449) negotiates peace, 4. 4-5.  
Megacles s. of Hipparchus: (404) advice of; to Dionysius, X, 20. 78. 3; (358) accompanies his brother Dion in flight from Sicily, VII, 16. 6. 4; (357) made general with Dion; they enter Syracuse, 10. 3-5.  
Megalepolis, in Libya: (310) Agathocles destroys, X, 20. 8. 2, 6.  
Megallus (Metallis), wife of Damophilus of Enna: (c. 135) cruelty of, to slaves, XII, 34/5. 2. 10-14, 37; killed by maidservants, 2. 15.  
Megalopolis, in Arcadia: (368) Arcadians found, VII, 15. 72. 4; (362) departure of settlers in, hindered, 94. 1-3; (352) with Theban aid, repulses Lacedaemonians, 16. 39. 1-5; makes armistice, 39. 7; (319) certain exiles from, not restored by Polyperchon, IX, 18. 56. 5; (318) loyal to Cassander, 68. 3, 69. 4; Polyperchon attacks, without success, 70. 1-72. 1, 74. 1; (315) Cassander

makes Damis governor of, 19. 64. 1. *See* Polybius of.  
Megapenthes, father of Anaxagoras king of Argos, III, 4. 68. 4, and of Iphianeira, 68. 5.  
Megara d. of Creon: wife of Heracles, II, 4. 10. 6; he slays their children, 11. 1, and gives her to Iolaüs, 31. 1-2.  
Megara, Megarians, in Greece: establish Heracleia Pontica, VI, 14. 31. 3; (480) on right at Salamis, IV, 11. 18. 2; (479) Athenians aid, against Persians by Aesopus riv., 30. 3-4; (472) Thrasydaeus of Acragas flees to, 53. 5; (458) allied with Athens; defeat Corinthians, 79. 1-4; (448) make alliance with Lacedaemon; Athenians defeat, 12. 5. 2; (431) seek Spartan aid when excluded by Athens, 39. 4-5, 40. 6; allied to Lacedaemon, V, 12. 42. 4; (430) Pericles plunders, 44. 3; (428) Peloponnesian triremes at, launched, 49. 3; (424) at invitation of certain citizens, Athens occupies, 66. 1-4; Brasidas recovers, 67. 1; (409) seize Nisaea; Athenians defeat, 13. 65. 1-2; (377) in Lacedaemonian empire, VII, 15. 31. 2; (375) democracy survives in, 40. 4; (369) joins Athens against Boeotians, 68. 2; (316) Cassander builds boats at, IX, 49. 64. 3; (307) Demetrius makes, autonomous, X, 20. 46. 3.  
— in Sicily: (309) Syracusean triremes coast along to, X, 20. 32. 3; (263) remains subject to Hiero, XI, 23. 4. 1.  
Megaris, in Greece: Sceiron lives in rocks of, III, 4. 59. 4; (480) Persians block strait between Salamis and, IV, 11. 17. 2.  
— in Sicily: Daedalus builds *kolumbethra* near, III, 4. 78. 1.  
Meion, king of Phrygia and Lydia, father of Cybelê, II, 3. 58. 1, 69. 1.  
Melaëus, P.: *see* P. Maelius Capitolinus.  
Melampous (Melampus) s. of

Amythaon: heals women of Argos of disease sent by Dionysus; marries Iphianeira, III, 4. 68. 3-6; friend of Apollo, 6. 8. 1; brings rites of Dionysus from Egypt, I, 1. 96. 2, 97. 4.  
Melanchaetes, a Centaur, killed by Heracles, II, 4. 12. 7.  
Melanippê, an Amazon, released by Heracles, II, 4. 16. 3-4.  
— wife of Hippotes: mother of Aëolus, III, 4. 67. 3, and of Boëotus, IX, 19. 53. 6.  
Meleager s. of Oeneus: an Argonaut; slays Acëtes, II, 4. 48. 4; story of, and the Calydonian boar hunt, 34. 1-35. 2.  
—, general of Alexander: (331) at Arbela, VIII, 17. 57. 2; (323) supports Philip Arrhidaeus, IX, 18. 2. 2-4; Perdiccas puts, to death, 4. 7.  
—, friend of Pithon of the Bodyguard: (316) killed by Antigonus, IX, 19. 47. 1-4.  
—, brother of Ptolemy: (c. 279) briefly king of Macedon, XI, 22. 4. 1.  
Meletus of Athens: (400) accuser of Socrates, VI, 14. 37. 7.  
Melis (Malis), Melians: with aid of Heracles, occupy lands of the Dryopes, II, 4. 37. 1; (480) go over to Persians, IV, 11. 3. 2; 1000 of, join Leonidas at Thermopylae, 4. 7; Xerxes reaches Gulf of, 5. 1-2; (420) Thebans check, who have attacked Heracleia in Trachis, V, 12. 77. 4; (370) Jason of Phærae gives Heracleia to, VII, 15. 57. 2; (363) with Thebans at Mantinea, 85. 2; (331) cavalry from, at Arbela, VIII, 17. 57. 3; (323) join Athens against Antipater, IX, 18. 11. 1. *See* Myson, Porus of.  
Melisseus, king of Carian Cheronessus: purifies Triopas, III, 5. 61. 1.  
—, king of Crete, father of Ida, VIII, 17. 7. 4.  
Melissus of Corinth: *see* Actæon s. of.

Melitê (Malta): Phoenicians colonize, III, 5. 12. 1-3.  
Melinê, part of Cappadocia: (c. 162) Ariarathes V drives Ptolemy of Commagene from, XI, 31. 19a. 1 (p. 373).  
Melitia (Melitæa), in Achaia Phthiotis: (322) Greeks send camp followers from Lamia to, IX, 18. 15. 1.  
Melkart: *see* Heracles, Tyrian.  
Melos: a Spartan colony, V, 12. 65. 2; stypitic earth found at, III, 5. 10. 2; (431) loyal to Lacedaemonians, V, 12. 42. 5; (424) Nicias plunders, 65. 2-3; (418) Athens reduces, by siege, slaying all males, 80. 5, 13. 30. 6.  
Melpomenê, a Muse, II, 4. 7. 2, 4.  
Memmius, L.: *see* L. Mummius, praetor, 153.  
Memnon s. of Tithonus: claimed by both African and Asian Ethiopians; sent to aid Priam; slain by Thessalians, I, 2. 22. 1-5; grandson of Ilus; slain by Achilles, III, 4. 75. 4.  
— of Rhodes: (349) Artaxerxes dismisses charges against, VII, 16. 52. 2-4; (335) general of Darius, fails to take Cyzicus, VIII, 17. 7. 2-3, 8-9; (334) vainly advocates attack on Macedon, 18. 2-3; at Granicus, 19. 4; flees to Miletus, 22. 1; commands Persians in defence of Halicarnassus, 23. 5-27. 5; retires to Cos, 27. 5; (333) successful operations of, in Aegean area, 29. 1-4, 31. 3; dies of disease, 29. 4-30. 1, 30. 7, 31. 4.  
—: (330) Antipater moves against, leader of rising in Thrace, VIII, 17. 62. 4-6.  
Memnonian: palaces called, in Susa and in Aethiopia, I, 2. 22. 3-4.  
memory: Pythagorean training of the, IV, 10. 5. 1.  
Memphis, in Egypt: Isis buried near, I, 1. 22. 2-3; founded by King Uchoreus and named for his daughter; chief city of



- Egypt until Alexander, 50. 3-51. 3; embellished by Daedalus, 97. 6, by Moeris, 51. 5, by Sesosis, 57. 1-2, 5, 58. 4, by Psammeticus, 67. 1, and by Amasis, 67. 1; twelve leaders confer in, and name selves rulers of Egypt, 66. 1-10; Amasis settles mercenaries in, 67. 1; theories *re* summer floods of Nile held in, 40. 1-8; post-stations between Thebes and, 45. 7; 120 stades distant from pyramids, 63. 3, and from city of Acanti, 97. 2; Acherousian lake near, 96. 7; level of Nile measured at, 36. 11-12; ten judges appointed from, 75. 3; (525) occupied by Cambyse, IV, 10. 14. 2; (460) Persian army in, 11. 77. 1; (374) Pharnabazus prevents Iphicrates from moving on, VII, 15. 43. 1-3; (344) Nectanebós withdraws to, 16. 48. 6-7, 49. 2; he abandons, 51. 1; (332) Amyntas general of Dareius killed in, VIII, 17. 48. 3-5; (321) Ptolemy defeats Perdiccas at ford near, IX, 18. 34. 6-36. 1, 37. 4; (144) Cleopatra II bears son in, XII, 33. 13. 1; (138) Roman envoys in, 28b. 2; (at present day) temple of Daedalus on island near, I, 1. 97. 6. *See* Chemnis, Tamós of; the Apis of; temple of Hephaestus, the White Fortress in.
- Memphites s. of Ptolemy VIII Physcon: (144) Cleopatra bears, in Memphis, XII, 33. 13. 1; (131) Physcon puts, to death, 34/5. 14. 1.
- Menae, in Sicily: (453) Ducetius moves, to the plain, IV, 11. 88. 6.
- Menaenum, in Sicily: (459) Ducetius founds, IV, 11. 78. 5; (396) Dionysius takes, VI, 14. 78. 7.
- Menander of Athens: (413) in battle in Grand Harbour of Syracuse, V, 13. 13. 2.
- , general of Antigonos: (323) Perdiccas assigns Lydia to, IX, 18. 3. 1; (318) Antigonos sends, against Eumenes, 59. 1-3.
- Menas (Mneves), king of Egypt: discovers edible fruits, I, 1. 43. 5; first king after the gods; introduces luxury, 45. 1-3; establishes cult of the crocodiles; builds Labyrinth, 89. 3; receives laws from Hermes, 94. 1; descendants of, rule for 1040 years, 45. 3.
- Mencherinus: *see* Mycerinus, king of Egypt.
- Mendé, on Palléné: (423) revolts to Lacedaemonians; Athenians recover, V, 12. 72. 7-8.
- Mendes (Marnis), king of Egypt: builds Labyrinth, I, 61. 1-2, 97. 5; cult of the goat of, 84. 4-8.
- Mendesian mouth of Nile, I, 1. 33. 7; (374) Persians under Pharnabazus and Iphicrates seize, VII, 15. 42. 3-5; Egyptians recover, 43. 3-4.
- Mené, in Hesperia: city of Ethiopian Ichthyophagi, II, 3. 53. 6.
- Menedemus of Croton: (317) general, IX, 19. 10. 3-4; (c. 294) tyrant, loses city to Agathocles, XI, 21. 4. 1.
- of Rhodes: (304) commands raiding party, X, 20. 93. 3-4.
- Menelaüs, king of Sparta: slays Euphorbus before Troy, IV, 10. 6. 1; Trojan captives revolt from, in Egypt, I, 1. 56. 4; Telemachus in house of, 97. 7.
- brother of Ptolemy: (315) Ptolemy sends, to Cyprus, IX, 19. 62. 4-5; (310) aids in death of Nicoteles of Paphos, X, 20. 21. 1; (307) defeated by Demetrius; retires to Salamis, 47. 3-4, 8; sends to Ptolemy for aid, 47. 7-8; burns Demetrius' siege engines, 48. 6-8; as ordered, sends ships to Ptolemy, 49. 3. 52. 5.
- Menenius, L.: *see* Licinus Menenius Lanatus, tr. mil. c. p., 372 = V380.
- Lanatus, Agr.: (432 = V439) cos., IV, 12. 37. 1; (414 = V417) tr. mil. c. p., V, 13. 7. 1.
- , Licinus: (372 = V380) tr. mil. c. p., VII, 15. 50. 1; (370 = V378) 57. 1; (368 = V376) 71. 1.
- , T.: (472 = V477) cos., IV, 11. 53. 1.
- , T.: (445 = V452) cos., IV, 12. 22. 1; (433 = V440) 36. 1.
- Menes of Camarina: (406) accuses generals of Acragas, V, 13. 87. 5.
- of Pella: (330) Alexander appoints, governor of Babylonia, VIII, 17. 64. 5.
- Menestheus of Athens: s. of Petes of Egypt; leads Athenians at Troy, I, 1. 28. 6.
- Mendis: (331) a Macedonian, wounded at Arbela, VIII, 17. 61. 3.
- Menippus: (194) envoy from Antiochus III to Rome, XI, 28. 15. 2.
- Meniscus: (c. 310) mercenary general under Satyrus of Bosphorus, X, 20. 23. 6-8.
- Menodotus of Perinthus: historian, XI, 26. 4. 1.
- Menoceus: *see* Creon s. of.
- Menoetes, general of Pithon: (316) carries on after Pithon's defeat, IX, 19. 47. 1-4.
- Menoetius s. of Actor: institutes rites for Heracles, II, 4. 39. 1.
- of Cyprus: (307) commands fleet that fails to reach Ptolemy, X, 20. 52. 5.
- Menon: (473) archon, IV, 11. 52. 1.
- of Larissa: (401) commands Cyrus' Thessalians, VI, 14. 19. 8; Artaxerxes spares, 27. 2.
- of Pharsalus: (322) commands Thessalians in Lamian war, IX, 18. 15. 2-5; seeks terms from Antipater, 17. 6; (321) Polyperchon defeats, 38. 5-6.
- of Segesta: (307) enslaved by Agathocles, XI, 21. 16. 2; (289) agent of Archagathus in murder of Agathocles, 16. 3-5; gaining control of army, moves on Syracuse, 16. 6, 18. 1.
- Mention s. of Eupalamus: *see* Daedalus.
- Mentor of Rhodes: (344) mercenary leader for Tennes of Sidon, VII, 16. 42. 2; with Tennes, betrays Sidon to Artaxerxes III, 45. 1. 3, 47. 4; secures surrender of Egyptian towns, 49. 7-51. 1; (344-342) services of, to Artaxerxes, 50. 6-8, 52. 1-7.
- Menyllus: (322) commands Antipater's garrison in Athens, IX, 18. 18. 5.
- mercenaries: Psammeticus rules by means of, I, 1. 66. 11-67. 3; Carthaginians leave mutinous, to starve on Osteodes, III, 5. 11. 1-4; Punic power based on, paid with income from Iberian mines, 38. 2-3; (472) Thrasydæus of Acragas gathers, IV, 11. 53. 3; (461) many, expelled from Sicilian cities settle in Messina, 76. 5; (401) in army of Cyrus the Younger, VI, 14. 19. 2-24. 7, and under own leaders after his death, 25. 1-31. 5, 37. 1; Messenians driven from Naupactus become, 34. 3-5; (375) Artaxerxes II seeks general peace in Greece to make more, available, VII, 15. 38. 1; (369) Euphron of Sicyon becomes tyrant by use of, 70. 3; (358-357) Dion raises force of, in Greece for return to Syracuse, 16. 6. 5, 9. 5; (358) Philip II organizes force of, using gold from his mines, 8. 7; (346) for hire at Malean promontory, 62. 3; (332) some, from Persian army come to Greece after Issus, VIII, 17. 48. 1-2; (328) Alexander settles some, in cities near Mt. Paropanisium, 83. 2; his treatment of Greeks who had served as, in forces of his enemies, 76. 1-2; (327) accompanied on campaign by women and children, 84. 3-6; (326) Alexander orders all satraps to disband their, 106. 3, 111. 1; (325) unemployed, gather at



Taenarum in Peloponnese, 111. 1-3, (323) IX, 18. 9. 1, (322) 21. 1, (303) X, 20. 104. 2; (308) conditions in Greece make foreign military service attractive, 40. 6-7; (302) unpaid, abandon Lysimachus for Antigonus, 113. 3; (289) cause strife in Syracuse; are settled at Messana (the Mamertines), XI, 21. 18. 1; (241-237) in Carthage, revolt (the Truceless war), 25. 2. 1-6. 1, 8. 1; nationality of, 2. 2; (c. 190) advantages of, over citizen soldiers; not used by Rome, 29. 6. 1; (181) occupy Thus; slaughtered after surrendering on terms, 23. 1. *See* Campanian, Gallic, Greek, Iberian, Libyan, Lycian mercenaries.

mercantizing, invented by Heracles, III, 5. 75. 2.

Mercy: Athenians first to raise altar to, V, 13. 22. 7.

Meriones s. of Molus: with Sicilian Cretans after fall of Troy, III, 4. 79. 6; buried at Cnosus, 5. 79. 4.

Meroë, mother of Cambyzes, I, 1. 33. 1.

Meroë, island in Nile: cities and mines on, I, 1. 33. 1-3; customs of Ethiopians living on, II, 3. 5. 1-7. 3; religion of Ethiopians living above, 9. 1-2; (285-246) King Ergamenes defies priests of, 6. 3-4; people dwelling about, call Nile "Water from Darkness," I, 1. 37. 9-10.

—, city founded by Cambyzes on island of same name, I, 1. 33. 1-2.

Meropë d. of Atlas, II, 3. 60. 4.

Meropes: war of Iones and, IV, 9. 3. 2.

Merops, in Troad: *see* Cos.

Merops, descendant of Heracles and ancestor of Macedonian kings, III, 7. 17. 1.

Meros, in India: Dionysus refreshes army in, II, 2. 38. 4.

Meschela, in Libya: Greeks found, after Trojan war; (307) general

of Archagathus takes, X, 20. 57. 6.

Mesopotamia: location of, IX, 18. 6. 3; enclosed by Tigris and Euphrates, I, 2. 11. 2; (330) Alexander gathers pack animals from, VIII, 17. 71. 2; (323) assigned to Arcesilaüs by Perdicas, IX, 18. 3. 3, (321) to Amphimachus by Antipater, 39. 6; (317) Antigonus in, 19. 13. 5, 15. 6, 17. 2; (312) Seleucus enters, X, 19. 91. 1; Demetrius reaches, 100. 6; (138) general of Demetrius II Nicator in, XII, 33. 23. 1; (before 61) protected by Pompey, 40. 4. 1. *See* Amphimachus.

Messana (Messenê, Zancle) in Sicily: formerly called Zancle; Orion builds mole for King Zancleus creating harbour of, III, 4. 85. 1; (476) Micythus becomes ruler of Rhegium and, as guardian for sons of Anaxilas, IV, 11. 48. 2, 59. 4; (467) he turns over power to sons of Anaxilas and departs from, 66. 1-3; (461) Zancleians expel sons of Anaxilas and become free; mercenaries from, discharged by other cities settle in territory of, 76. 5; (415) postpone Syracusan alliance, V, 13. 4. 2; (409) fugitives from Himera at, 61. 5; Hermocrates collects naval force at, 63. 2; (406) force from, sent to defend Acragas, 86. 4-5; (405) left autonomous by truce, 114. 1; (404) aids mutinous Syracusans against Dionysius, VI, 14. 8. 2-3; (399) peace made with Dionysius, 40. 3-7; (398) he wins support of, 44. 3-4; (396) importance of position of, 56. 1-2, 58. 3-4; Himileon takes, 56. 2-57. 5, 61. 2, and destroys, 58. 3-59. 1, Dionysius not preventing, 66. 4, 68. 5; Dionysius settles groups of exiles in, 78. 4-6, 87. 1, VII, 15. 66. 5; (394) Rhegium makes futile attack on, VI, 14.

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— III Euergetes I of Egypt, 246-221: an elephant hunter, II, 3. 18. 4, 41. 1; directs exploration of Red sea, 18. 4, 42. 1.

— V Epiphanes of Egypt, 203-181: (196) Roman envoy bids Antiochus III retire from lands formerly held by, XI, 28. 12. 1; Antiochus plans to marry daughter to, 12. 1; (c. 194) kills guardian, 14. 1; (181) denies neglect of Coele Syria, 29. 29. 1. (p. 271).

— VI Philometor of Egypt, 180-145: (170) prepares to recover Coele Syria; seeks to reconcile Rome and Perseus, XI, 30. 2. 1; (169) Eulaeus and Leneas, ministers of, undertake war with Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, 15. 1-16. 1; Eulaeus causes flight of, 17. 1; Antiochus wishes to use quarrel of, and his brother Physcon for own purposes, 31. 1. 1; Rome forces Antiochus to end war with, 2. 1-2; (?) puts down plot of Dionysius Petosarapis, 15a. 1-4; (165) crushes revolt in Thebaid, 17b. 1; (164) driven from Egypt by Physcon, 18. 1-2, 20. 1; (163) Alexandrians recall, 17c. 1 (p. 363); (161) Rome rebuffs envoys of, 23. 1; (158) forces Physcon to be content with Cyrenê, 33. 1; (c. 146) given crown of Syria by people of Antioch; makes

terms with Demetrius II Nicator, retaining Coele Syria, 32. 9c. 1 (p. 445); (?) Galaestes general of, XII, 33. 20. 1; (145) brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (Physcon) succeeds, 6. 1, 6a. 1; (c. 139) Galaestes sets up pretended son of, as king, 20. 1. Character of, 12. 1.

— VIII\* Euergetes II (Physcon) of Egypt, 145-116: (c. 169) clears brother Ptolemy VI Philometor of charges of Dionysius Petosarapis, XI, 31. 15a. 1-4; (164) drives Philometor from Egypt, 18. 1-2, 20. 1; (c. 163) Alexandrians strip, of power, 17c. 1 (p. 363); (161) envoys of, received by Roman Senate, 23. 1; (158) Philometor forces, to be content with Cyrenê, 33. 1; (145) succeeds Philometor; illegal acts of, XII, 33. 6. 1-6a. 1; marries sister Cleopatra, 6a. 1; (144) Egyptians hate, 12. 1; orders death of former supporters from Cyrenê, 13. 1; Cleopatra bears son Memphites to, 13. 1; (?) falsely accuses Galaestes, officer of Philometor, 20. 1; (139) called "Physcon," 22. 1; Egyptians despise, 23. 1; (138) entertains Scipio Aemilianus, 28b. 1-2; (131) kills Memphites; sends body to Cleopatra, 34/5. 14. 1; (127) releases Marsyas, general of Alexandrians, 20. 1.

— IX Philometor Soter (Lathyrus) of Egypt, 116-108, 88-80: (c. 105) shut up in Seleucia, XII, 34/5. 39a. 1.

— XI Auletes of Egypt, 80-51: (59) called "Friend" by Rome, I, 1. 83. 8. Diodorus in Egypt in reign of, 44. 1, 83. 8.

— nephew and general of Antigonus: (315) leads army to Cappadocia, IX, 19. 57. 4; recovers Cappadocia and Bi-

thynia; forces Seleucus to raise siege of Erythrae, 60. 2-4; in Caria, attacks Asander, 62. 5, (314) defeats Eupolemus, X, 49. 68. 5-7, (313) and forces Iasus to support Antigonus, 75. 5; sent to Greece to free Greeks, 77. 2; in Boeotia, 77. 4; (313) leaves cities without garrisons, 78. 1-5; (312) commands all Greece for Antigonus, 87. 1-3; (310) revolts from Antigonus, making alliance with Cassander, 20. 19. 2; (309) comes to Ptolemy I; shows self presumptuous; ordered to drink hemlock, 27. 2-3.

— of Commagenê: (c. 162) asserts independence; attacks Cappadocia without success, XI, 31. 19a. 1 (p. 373).

Ptolemy riv.: canal from Nile to Red sea called, I, 1. 33. 12, *publicani*: (91) in partnership with provincial governors, XII, 37. 5. 1-4.

Publilius: see Popillius.

Publius: (c. 96) a Roman in Syracuse, XII, 37. 8. 1-3.

— and Cornelius: see P. Cornelius Cossus and P. Cornelius Scipio, trr. mil. c. p., 392=V395.

—, C. and Cn.: see C. Poetelius Libo Visolus, cos., 342=V346, 324=V326.

—, L.: see L. Popillius Vulscus, trr. mil. c. p., 397=V400.

—, M.: see M. Popillius Laenas, cos., 344=V348.

—, M. (?): (377=V385) trr. mil. c. p., VII, 15. 28. 1.

—, Q.: see Q. Popillius Philo, cos., 336=V339, and Q. Poetelius Libo Visolus, Xvir, 443=V450.

pulse: grown in India, II, 2. 36. 3. Punic faith: (171) Senate charges its envoys with, XI, 30. 7. 1 (p. 283).

Punic War, First: (264) XI, 23.

\*This agrees with the numbering in the footnotes of this translation. Others (e.g. *The Cambridge Ancient History*) do not count the brief reign of Ptolemy Neos Philopator and thus call Physcon "Ptolemy VII," Lathyrus "Ptolemy VIII," and Auletes "Ptolemy XI."

1. 1-3. 1; (263) 4. 1-5. 1; (262-261) 5. 1-9. 3; (260) 9. 4-10. 2; (258) 9. 5; (256) 11. 1-13. 1; (255) 14. 1-18. 1; (254) 18. 2-5; (253) 19. 1; (252) 20. 1; (251) 21. 1-22. 1; (250) 24. 1. 1-4. 2. 1; (249) 1. 5-11; 3. 1; (247) 1. 1-7. 2; (246-245) 10. 1-2. 12. 1-3; (244) 8. 1-9. 1; (243) 9. 2-3; (241) 11. 1-3. 13. 1-14. 1. *See* Carthage.
- Punic War, Second: (221-203) XI, 25. 10. 1 (pp. 165-175); (221) 15. 1; (219) 15. 1; (218-217) 16. 1-17. 1; (217) 26. 2. 1-3. 3; (216-215) 10. 1-11. 1; 13. 1-14. 2; (212-211) 16. 1-20. 2; (209-208) 21. 1; (207) 24. 1-2; (205) 27. 2. 1-2a. 1; (205-204) 4. 1-8; (203) 6. 1-18. 3. *See* Carthage.
- punishment, capital: King Sabaco abolishes, in Egypt, I, 1. 65. 3-4.
- Puteoli: *see* Dicaearchia.
- Pydna (Pydnē), in Macedonia: (480) Persian fleet sails from, IV, 11. 12. 3; (410) forced to obey King Archelaus, V, 13. 49. 1-2, (358) and King Philip II, VII, 16. 8. 3; (317) Cassander besieges Olympias in, IX, 19. 35. 5, 36. 1; (316) he takes the city, 49. 1-50. 6; (314) Pydnaeans (?) defeated at sea, X, 19. 69. 3; (169) Persus brings people of Dium to, XI, 30. 11. 2. *See* Agathon of Pygmalion of Cyprus: (313) Ptolemy executes, X, 19. 79. 4.
- Pylae: (335) Amphictyons at, recognize Philip II as leader, VIII, 17. 4. 2.
- Pylos, in Messenia: Neleus founds, III, 4. 68. 6; he purifies Heracles at, II, 4. 31. 4; (425) Athenians under Demosthenes occupy and fortify, V, 12. 61. 1, 62. 7; Lacedaemonians attempt to recover, 61. 1-63. 5; (420) Athens fails to return, 77. 2; (409) Lacedaemonians recover, 13. 64. 5-7. —, in Elis: (402) Pausanias takes, VI, 14. 17. 8.

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- Pyrenees mts.: origin of name, III, 5. 35. 3; separate Gauls from Celts and Celtiberians, 32. 1. 35. 2; connection of Heracles with, 35. 2.
- Pyrgi, Tyrrhenian port: (384) Dionysius pillages temple in, VI, 15. 14. 3-4.
- Pyrgion: (388) archon, VI, 14. 107. 1.
- Pyrigenes, a name of Bacchus, II, 4. 5. 1.
- Pyrrha, on Lesbos: (406) Lacedaemonians retire from Mitylenē to, V, 13. 100. 5; (333) Memnon masters, VIII, 17. 20. 2.
- Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) s. of Achilles: (317) descendants of, rule Epirus until rebellion against Aeacides, IX, 19. 36. 4; (280) Pyrrhus of Epirus contrasted with, XI, 21. 21. 12. —, king of Epirus, 307-303, 279-272: s. of Aeacides, VIII, 16. 72. 1, IX, 19. 35. 5; (295) Agathochles marries daughter to, XI, 21. 4. 1, 22. 8. 2; (c. 280) briefly king of Macedonia, 4. 1; (280) Rome guards Rhegium against, 1. 2; "Cadmean" victories of, against Rome, 6. 1-2; (280 or 279) sends Cineas to Rome to treat, 6. 3; (279) again invited to Sicily, 7. 3, 6; Carthage, Rome, and the Mamertines oppose crossing of, 7. 4-5; (278) sails from Tarentum to Sicily, 8. 1-2; makes alliance with Tyndarion, 8. 3; (278-276) settles Syracusan affairs; occupies Sicilian cities formerly ruled by Syracuse, 8. 4-5, 10. 1-2, and all Punic cities except Lilybaeum, 10. 3-4; after two-month siege of Lilybaeum, decides to invade

- Libya, 10. 5-7; (274) defeats Antigonus Gonatas; dedicates shields, 11. 1; fails to punish mercenaries for sacrilege, 11. 2-12. 1; terrified by storm, returns loot to temple of Persephonē at Locri, 27. 4. 3. Character of, XI, 21. 21. 12.
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- Pythagoreans: examples of devotion of, to friends, IV, 10. 3. 5-4. 6; training of, in memory and self-control, 5. 1-2; refuse to accept Cylon into fellowship, 11. 1. 1; Epameinondas and Philip II taught by, 11. 2, VII, 16. 2. 3; (366) the last of the, among men of culture, 15. 76. 4.
- Pythas of Corinth: (414) sent to Syracuse, V, 13. 7. 2; (413) commander in battle in Great Harbour, 13. 2.
- Pythia, priestess at Delphi: institution of the, VII, 16. 26. 4; (383) sets contests for control of Leucē, VI, 15. 18. 2-3; (355) Philomelus forces, to mount tripod, VII, 16. 25. 3, 27. 1; (326) calls Alexander "unconquerable," VIII, 17. 93. 4. *For responses of, see* Delphi.
- Pythian: Apollo called, III, 4. 80. 4, 5. 77. 6-7.

- Pythian games; (346) by vote of Amphictyons, Philip II presides at, VII, 16. 60. 2.
- Pythias, a Pythagorean: *see* Phintias.
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- Pytho: poetic term for Delphi, II, 4. 55. 1, IV, 9. 10. 4, VII, 16. 23. 5, 56. 7. *For responses at, see* Delphi.
- Pythodorus: (432) archon, IV, 12. 37. 1.
- : (336) archon, VIII, 16. 91. 1.
- Pythodotus: (343) archon, VIII, 16. 70. 1.
- Pytho(n): (338) envoy of Philip II to Boeotian league, VIII, 16. 85. 3-4.
- of Abdera: (170) Eumenes II bribes, XI, 30. 6. 1.
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- M.: *See* M. Quinctilius Varus, tr. mil. c. p., 400 = V403.
- T.: (437 = V444) tr. mil. c. p., IV, 12. 32. 1.
- T.: (346 = V349) cos., VII, 16. 59. 1.
- Capitulinus Barbatus, T.: (466 = V471) cos., IV, 11. 67. 1; (463 = V468) 71. 1; (460 =

- V465 77. 1: (439=V446) 12. 30. 1: (436=V443) 33. 1: (432=V439) 37. 1.  
 —, T.: (402=V405) tr. mil. c. p., VI, 14. 17. 1.  
 —, Cincinnatus, L.: (450=V457b) cos., IV, 12. 3. 1.  
 —, L.: (431=V438) tr. mil. c. p., IV, 12. 38. 1: (420=V428b) cos., V, 12. 77. 1: (417=V425) tr. mil. c. p., 81. 1.  
 —, L.: (378=V386) tr. mil. c. p., VII, 15. 25. 1: (377=V385) 28. 1: (369=V377) 61. 1.  
 —, Capitolinus, T.: (380=V388) tr. mil. c. p., VII, 15. 23. 1: (376=V384) 36. 1.  
 —, T.: (364=V368) tr. mil. c. p., VII, 15. 78. 1.  
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 —, Poenus Capitolinus Crispinus, T.: (351=V354) cos., VII, 16. 40. 1: (348=V351) 53. 1.  
 —, Cincinnatus, T.: (424=V431) cos., V, 12. 65. 1: (421=V428a) 75. 1: (418=V426) tr. mil. c. p., 80. 1.  
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- Sopeithes, an Indian king: (326) surrenders to Alexander; is restored to throne, VIII, 17. 91. 4-7; gives dogs to Alexander, 91. 8-92. 3.
- Sophanes: (347) one of three Phocian generals to succeed Phalaecus, VII, 16. 56. 3.
- Sophenê, in Armenia: (c. 162) Ariarathes V restores Mithrobuzanes to throne of, XI, 31. 22. 1; (before 61) Pompey protects, XII, 40. 4. 1.
- Sophilus: father of Sophocles the tragic writer, V, 13. 103. 4.
- (401) a commander of the Ten Thousand, VI, 14. 25. 5.
- Sophocles of Athens: (427) shares command of fleet aiding Leontini, V, 12. 54. 6.
- s. of Sophilus: (406) writer of tragedies; dies, V, 13. 103. 4.
- s. of Sophocles: (397) begins to produce tragedies, VI, 14. 53. 6.
- Sophonba (Sophoniba, Sophonisba): (203) wife of Syphax, then of Masinissa, XI, 27. 7. 1.
- Sophonides: *see* Ephialtes s. of.
- Sophron of Ambracia: (432) stadion winner, IV, 12. 37. 1.
- Sora, in Latium: (314) allied to Samnites, X, 19. 72. 3; (306) Samnites take, 20. 80. 1; (305) Romans recover, 90. 4.
- Sosand d. of Ninus: Ninus offers, to Onnes, I, 2. 6. 9.
- Sosarmus, king of Medes, I, 2. 32. 6.
- Sosicrates: historian of Crete, III, 5. 80. 4.
- Sosigenes: (342) archon, VIII, 16. 72. 1.
- Sosippus of Athens: (388) stadion winner, VI, 14. 107. 1.
- Sosistratus: (455) archon, IV, 11. 85. 1.
- (Sostratus) of Syracuse: (279-278) master of Syracuse and Acragas; delivers them to Pyrrhus, XI, 22. 7. 3, 6. 8. 4, 10. 1.
- Sosthenes: (c. 279) briefly king of Macedonia, XI, 22. 4. 1.

- Sostratus (Sosiistratus) of Syracuse: (before 317) leads force to aid Croton, IX, 19. 3. 3; gains control of Syracuse, 3. 4-5; attacks Rhegium; loses Syracuse, 4. 2-3; allied with Carthage, 4. 3-7; Syracuse receives back those expelled with, 5. 4; supporters of, in Croton are exiled, 10. 3; (314) killed, 71. 4-5.
- Sosylus of Ellis, historian of Hannibal, XI, 26. 4. 1.
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- Spanish steel: excellence of Celtiberian swords, III, 5. 33. 3-4.
- Sparta: Heracles bids Tyndareus keep, safe for the Heracleidae, II, 4. 33. 5-6; ruled by two kings, VIII, 17. 104. 2; list of early kings of, III, 7. 8. 1-2; Delphi warns and advises Lycurgus regarding, 12. 5-6; a Messenian may accuse a Lacedaemonian only in, 8. 7. 5-6; Cleonnis of Messenê kills eight, 12. 2; Lacedaemonians swear not to return to, until Messenê is conquered, VII, 15. 66. 3; a Sybarite criticizes life in, III, 8. 18. 2; threatened with civil strife, 21. 1-2; defeated by Messenians; Delphi bids, get commander in Athens, 27. 1, VII, 15. 66. 3; Epizephyrian Locrians seek aid at, III, 8. 32. 1; Athens makes clever use of victory over, IV, 10. 24. 3; inheritance received by, 34. 8; (480) possible fame and ruin for, from Thermopylae, 11. 4. 4; the Three Hundred, at Thermopylae, 4. 5. 9. 1; eulogy of the, who fell at Thermopylae, 11. 1-6; (479) inscription in their honour, 33. 2; although furnishing fleet and commander, deprived of glory at Salamis by Themistocles, 59. 1; after Plataea receives prize for valour, 33. 1; (478) Themistocles at, while

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- (431) Megarians appeal to, IV, 12. 39. 4; Pericles would fight, on the sea, 39. 5; (430) in Methonê Brasidas earns approval of, V, 12. 43. 2-3; (427) Lesbians advise, to seek naval supremacy, 55. 2; captives asked if they have injured, 56. 5; (425) Athenians fortify Pylos 400 stades from, 61. 1; attack Pylos without success, 62. 1-2, 7; 120, surrender at Sphacteria, 63. 3-4; those, surrendering disgraced for "diminishing the glory of Sparta," 76. 1; ransom the Lacedaemonians taken at Sphacteria, 13. 24. 2; hatred of Messenians for, 12. 63. 5; Melos a colony of, remains loyal, 65. 2; (424) destroy most high spirited of the Helots, 67. 3-5; (421) rights restored to, captured at Sphacteria, 76. 1; (419) with allies move on Mantinea, 79. 3; (415) Alcibiades takes refuge in, 13. 5. 4; (414) send 600 to aid Syracuse, 8. 3; (410) foot soldiers of, superior; suffers



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(385) Determination of, to recover supremacy throws cities into turmoil, VI, 15. 9. 5; (383) in ill repute for Persian peace, 19. 4; (382) order razing of the Cadmeia, VII, 15. 20. 2; 16. 29. 2; Olynthians expect return of, 15. 21. 3; (380) other states follow Olynthians into alliance with, 23. 3; Syracuse seeks alliance with, 23. 5; (378) Lacedaemonian garrison of Cadmeia seeks aid from, 25. 3-4, then evacuates citadel, 27. 2; (377) council of, fails to punish Sphodriades, 29. 5-6; Hestiaeia loyal to, 30. 1. 4; appoint Agesilaüs commander for Boeo-

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**Sybaris**, in Colchis, II, 4. 43. 1.

—, in Bruttium: between Sybaris and Crathis rivers, IV, 11. 90. 3, 12. 9. 2; foundation of, III, 8. 17. 2, IV, 12. 9. 1; wealth and luxury of, III, 8. 18. 1-20. 1; (c. 510) destroyed by Croton, IV, 10. 23. 1, 11. 90. 3, 12. 9. 2-10. 1; during siege vainly seeks aid of Syracuse, 11. 48. 4-5; (453) Thessalians re-found, (446) but are driven out by Crotoniates, 90. 3-4, 12. 10. 2; founded on another site as Thurii, 10. 3-6; original citizens of, put to death, 11. 1-2; (445) some from, settle on Trais riv., but are expelled, 22. 1. *See* Thurii.

**Sybaris riv.**, in Bruttium, IV, 11. 90. 3, 12. 9. 2.

**Sydracae**, Indian tribe: (326) Alexander wounded in taking city of, VIII, 17. 98. 1-99. 4.

**Syené**, in Egypt: black stone from, I, 1. 47. 3.

**Syennesis**, of Cilicia: (401) pretends support of Cyrus, VI, 14. 20. 2-3.

**Syleus**: slain by Heracles, II, 4. 31. 7.

**Syllius**, L.: *see* L. Sempronius Asellio, pr., 96.

**Symé**, mother of Chthonius: island named for, III, 5. 53. 1.

**Symé**, isl. off Caria: Chthonius s. of Poseidon settles, III, 5. 53. 1; seized by Carians, then by Lacedaemonians, 53. 2-3; (319) Antigonus storms, IX, 18. 52. 8.

**Symmachus** of Sicilian Messenê: (428) stadion winner, V, 12. 49. 1; (424) 65. 1.

— of Athens: (423) drives Lesbian exiles from Antandrus, V, 12. 72. 3.

**Synetos** of Lacedaemon: (480) holds Tempé against Xerxes, IV, 11. 2. 5.

**Synnada**, in Phrygia: (302) Lysimachus takes, X, 20. 107. 3-4.

**Synod**, Great, in India: philosophers invited to, II, 2. 40. 2.

**Syphax**, king of Numidia: (203) Scipio Africanus defeats, XI, 27. 10. 1, and holds in free custody, 6. 1-2; warns Scipio against Sophonba, 7. 1.

**Syracossium**, harbour of Cyrrus (Corisca), III, 5. 13. 3.

**Syracuse**, in Sicily: Heracles at site of, II, 4. 23. 4; he institutes near, festivals to Coré still celebrated, 23. 4, III, 5. 4. 1-2, 5. 1; Corinth founds, VI, 14. 42. 2, VII, 16. 65. 2; (c. 491) Hippocrates of Gela defeats; he camps in, IV, 10. 28. 1-2; (c. 485) of their own will, accept Gelon as ruler, VI, 14. 66. 2-3; (480) under Gelon, defeat Carthaginians at Himera, IV, 11. 20. 5-24. 4, V, 13. 94. 5, VI, 14. 66. 1-2; 67. 1; Carthaginians use mercenaries against, III, 5. 11. 1; Gelon enriches, with captives and spoil, IV, 11. 25. 1, 5. 26. 7; receive news of victory at Salamis; hail Gelon as benefactor, 26. 5-6; (478) esteem him as he grows old, 23. 3; observe law against costly funerals even in his case, 23. 2-6; from time of Gelon, lay claim to leadership in Sicily, 12. 26. 3, V, 13. 22. 4-5; Hieron succeeds Gelon as ruler of, IV, 11. 38. 7, 48. 3; he suspects Polyzelus who is popular among, 48. 3; Hieron settles men from, in Catania and in Sicilian Naxos, 49. 1-2, 76. 3; (474) fleet of Cumae and, defeat Tyrrhenians, 51. 1-2; (472) defeat Thrasydaeus of Acragas; make peace, 53. 3-5, 12. 26. 3; (467) Hieron summons sons of Anaxilas to, 11. 66. 1; obey Hieron out of respect for Gelon, 67. 3-5; (466) Thrasybulus succeeds Hieron as ruler of, 66. 4, 67. 5; drive out Thrasybulus, 67. 1, 67. 5-68. 7; free other Sicilian cities from tyrants, 68. 5; (463) prosperity in, 72. 1-2; new citizens (Gelon's mer-

cenaries) being excluded from office in, seize Achradinê and the Island, 72. 3-73. 3; (461) defeat mercenaries, 76. 1-2; with Siceli, drive out Catanians and distribute their land, 76. 3; (454) suppress attempt of Tyndarides to become tyrant, 86. 3-5; adopt but soon discard "petalism" (=ostracism); increased demagoguery in, 86. 5-87. 6; (453) send Phaëllus (who accepts bribe) and then Apelles against Tyrrhenian pirates, 88. 4-5; (451) execute Bolon as cause of defeat by Ducetius, 91. 1-2; overpower and defeat Ducetius, 91. 2-4; grant Ducetius right of suppliant and send him to Corinth, 92. 1-2, 12. 8. 1; (446) attacked by Acragantini for freeing Ducetius; defeat them, 8. 1-4; Greek cities have accepted hegemony of, 26. 3; (440) conquer the Trinacians, all the other Siceli having already yielded, 29. 2-4; (439) increase forces; intend conquest of all Sicily, 30. 1; (427) attack Leontines, who seek Athenian aid, V, 12. 53. 1; Athenians attack Liparacans because allies of, 54. 4; make peace with Leontines and give them Syracusan citizenship, 54. 7; (before 416) force Leontines to leave Leontini and come to, 83. 1; Nicias proxenos of, in Athens, 13. 27. 3; (416) refuse aid to Aegesta against Selinus, 12. 82. 7; Aegestacans promise Athens financial aid against, 83. 3; Athens prepares for war with, 83. 4-84. 3, 13. 2. 1, VI, 14. 5. 5.

Book Twelve ends and Book Thirteen begins with war between Athens and, IV, 12. 2. 3, V, 12. 84. 4, 13. 1. 1-3; (415) first year of the war, 2. 1-6. 6; Athenians plan to enslave, 2. 6. 4. 1, 30. 3; seek allies against Athens, 4. 1-2; Athenian allies against, 4. 3-5,



43. 1, 44. 1; while, march on Catané, Athenians occupy Olympieum of, 6. 2-6; (414) second year of war, 7. 1-8. 7; Lacedaemon and Corinth promise aid, 7. 1-2; Athenians occupy Epipolae and begin circumvallation of, 7. 3-6, VI, 14. 18. 2; take heart on news that Gylippus has reached Himera, V, 13. 7. 6; he gathers soldiers in Sicily and moves to, 7. 7. 106. 8; reinforced from Greece and Sicily; drive Athenians from Epipolae, 8. 1-4; launch ships, 8. 5-6; (413) third year of the war, 9. 2-33. 1; defeated by Athenians at sea, successful on land, 9. 3-6; provoke Athenians to fight, 10. 1, 4; strengthen prowess of triremes, 10. 2-3; defeat Athenians in Great Harbour, 10. 4-11. 1; Eurymedon and Demosthenes join Athenians, 11. 2; drive Athenians from Epipolae, 11. 3-6; send Sicani to allies announcing victory; receive more aid, 11. 6, 12. 4; Nicias fears to make peace without sanction from Athens, 12. 2; pestilence in Athenian camp, 12. 1, 4, VI, 14. 70. 5; defeat Athenian fleet; are defeated on land, V, 13. 13. 1-8; again defeat Athenians in Great Harbour, 14. 1-17. 5; occupy roads, 18. 3-6; slay many Athenians and capture rest, 19. 1-3, 34. 4, 43. 4, VI, 14. 67. 1; set up trophies and make offerings, V, 13. 19. 3-4; in Assembly, consider fate of captured, 19. 4-33. 1; after speech of Nicolaüs many, favour moderation, 28. 1; after speech of Gylippus, decree death for generals and allies and the quarries for the Athenians, 33. 1; (413-412) Diocles sets up laws for, 33. 2, 35. 1, VIII, 16. 82. 6; later build temple in honour of Diocles, V, 13. 35. 2; honour Gylippus and the Lacedaemonians, 34. 4.

(412) Under Hermocrates, send triremes to serve in Lacedaemonian fleet, V, 13. 34. 4, (411) 39. 4, 40. 5; embellish temples with spoil, 34. 5; provide for election of magistrates by lot, 34. 6; (410) promise Selinus aid against Aegesta, 43. 1-2, 44. 4-5; Carthaginians fear, but fail to alienate Selinus and, 43. 2-7; ships from, in Lacedaemonian fleet, 45. 7; (409) Selinus expects aid from, against Carthage, 54. 3, 55. 3; Hannibal avoids appearance of war against, 54. 5; cease war with Chalcidians but delay too long in aiding Selinus, 56. 1-2, 59. 1; move to aid Himera, 59. 9, but abandon its defence on rumour of Punic attack on, 61. 2-6; Hermocrates removed from naval command; he fails to establish self in, by force, 63. 1-3; some in, desire his return, 63. 5-6; (408) he sends back to, bones of citizens slain at Himera, 75. 2-4; exile Diocles; slay Hermocrates again attempting return, 75. 5-9; (407) bid Carthaginians cease aggression, 79. 8; (406) defeat Punic fleet, 80. 5-7; negotiate alliances with Greeks of Italy and Sicily and with Lacedaemonians, 80. 7-81. 2; send forces to aid Acragas, 86. 4-5; under Daphnaeus, defeat Carthaginians under Himilcon but permit defeated to escape, 87. 1-5; fail to take camp of Himilcar, 88. 1; Himilcar captures ships from, bringing supplies to Acragas, 88. 3-5; after fall of Acragas many Acragantini and other Siciliotes come to, 91. 1; later give Leontini as home for those driven from Acragas, 89. 4; place Dexippus in charge of Gela; Dionysius (the later tyrant) accuses generals and chief citizens of, 91. 2-5; made general by, he secures recall

of exiles, 92. 1-7; send Dionysius to Gela; envoys of populace of Gela praise him, 93. 1-4; he returns to, where he accuses other generals and is made supreme general, 93. 4-95. 1; many of, regret this act, 95. 2; he secures bodyguard and becomes tyrant of, 95. 3-6, 75. 9; he organizes tyranny in, 96. 1-4; (405) women of Gela refuse removal to, 103. 6; under Dionysius, march to aid Gela; are defeated by Carthaginians and withdraw into Gela, 109. 1-110. 7; Dionysius retires to Camarina and forces its people to go to, 111. 1-3; cavalry of, desert Dionysius, 112. 3-6; he recovers, and forces cavalry to retire to Aetnè, 113. 1-4; peace with Carthage leaves, subject to Dionysius, 114. 1-3; Book Thirteen ends with second war between Carthage and, 1. 3.

(404) Expecting, to seek liberty Dionysius makes freedmen citizens of, and distributes land to his supporters in, VI, 14. 7. 1-5; the, in army mutiny; join cavalry at Aetnè, 7. 5-7; blockade Dionysius on the Island, 8. 1-6, X, 20. 78. 2-3; grant him permission to withdraw; become careless; Campanian mercenaries make way through, to him, VI, 14. 9. 1-4; he defeats, at Neapolis; few of, accept amnesty, 9. 5-9; Aristus (Aretes) sent by the Lacedaemonians rouses and then betrays the, 10. 2-3, 70. 3; Dionysius strengthens hold on, 10. 4, 14. 1; (403) he undertakes conquest of cities near, 14. 1-15. 3, sells captives as slaves in, 15. 3, transports Leontines and makes them citizens, 15. 4; (401) he strengthens walls of, in preparation for war with Carthage, 18. 1-8, V, 13. 35. 2; (399) exiles from, incite Rhegians to war with Dionysius, VI, 14. 40. 1-3; he makes

peace when Rhegians retire 40. 3-6; filled with activity as he prepares for Libyan campaign, 41. 1-43. 4; catapult and quinqueremes invented in, 41. 3, 42. 1-2; (398) Dionysius enlists men in, and elsewhere, 44. 1-2; he seeks allies, 44. 3-8; his destined bride is brought to, 44. 7; persuaded to undertake war because of hatred of Carthage and desire to get weapons, 45. 2-5; seize possessions of Carthaginians in, 46. 1; declare war on Carthage unless Greek cities are freed, 46. 5, 47. 1-2; (397) Carthage awaits attack by, 47. 3; great size of army led from, by Dionysius, I, 2. 5. 6; under Dionysius, move on Motyè, VI, 14. 47. 4-7; Eryx yields to, 48. 1; take Motyè, 48. 1-53. 6; many Punic allies go over to, 48. 4-5; fleet sent by Himilcon destroys ships in harbour of, 49. 1-2, but fails to destroy fleet of, at Motyè, 50. 1-4; Dionysius returns to, after sack of Motyè, 53. 5.

(396) War with Carthage continues, VI, 14. 54. 2-76. 4; under Dionysius, plunder Carthaginian territory in Sicily, 54. 2-4; Himilcon recovers Motyè, 54. 4-55. 4; Dionysius withdraws to, 55. 5-7; Messenian cavalry in, when Himilcon attacks Messenè, 56. 4; after taking Messenè, Himilcon prepares to march on, 57. 6; Dionysius frees slaves in, 58. 1; he leads, to Tauris, 58. 2; fleet of, under Leptines defeated at Catané, 59. 4-60. 7; Dionysius fearing naval attack on, refuses Siciliote demand for action, 61. 1-3; Campanian troops in, serve as hostages for loyalty of those elsewhere, 61. 6; Punic fleet fills Great Harbour and army advances on, 62. 2-5; Himilcon plunders temples of Demeter and Corè outside; thereafter his fortune changes,



63. 1, 70. 4; win naval victories without Dionysius, 64. 1-3, 69. 2-3; begin to think of liberty, 64. 4-5; in Assembly of, Theodorus delivers oration lauding past deeds of, and assailing Dionysius, 64. 5-70. 1; Pharacidas the Lacedaemonian halts effort of, to overthrow Dionysius, 70. 1-3; Carthaginians outside, suffer from plague, 70. 4-71. 4; under Dionysius, win complete victory on land and sea, 72. 1-75. 1, 95. 1; without knowledge of, Dionysius permits escape of Himilcon and Carthaginian citizens, 75. 1-3; Dionysius fears revolt of, if Carthage is destroyed, 75. 3; fail to prevent escape of Siceli, 75. 6; reversal in affairs of Carthage and, as example of Fortune, 76. 1-4; Carthaginian allies in Libya and Sicily revolt after betrayal by Himilcon at, 77. 1, 78. 4; under Dionysius, make campaigns against the Siceli, 78. 7; (394) Siceli defeat, 88. 1-5.  
(393) Under Dionysius, defeat Carthaginians; fail to take Rhegium, VI, 14. 90. 1-7; (392) under Dionysius, move to meet Carthaginian invasion; make alliance with Agris, 95. 2-7; provoked by Dionysius' delays, desert him, 96. 1-2; (390) Dionysius sets out from, against Rhegium, and returns after losses in storm, 100. 1-5; (389) under Dionysius, defeat Italian Greeks, 103. 1-105. 4; many exiles from, in Croton, 103. 4; Dionysius makes terms with Rhegium, 106. 1-3; he transports people of Caulonia to, and gives citizenship, 106. 3; (388) he transports people of Hipponium to, 107. 2; under Dionysius, cross to Italy and begin siege of Rhegium, 108. 1-6; word spreads in, of failure of Dionysius' poems at Olympia,

109. 5-6; (387) under Dionysius, take Rhegium; he sends prisoners to, 111. 1-4; (386) all quiet in, 15. 6. 1; (385) Alcetas the Molossian an exile in, 13. 2; Dionysius builds dockyards, walls, etc., in, 13. 5; (384) under Dionysius, raid Tyrrhenian coast; prepare for war on Carthage, 14. 3-4; (383) under Dionysius, first defeat Carthaginians at Cabala, 15. 1-4, then are defeated by them at Cronium, 16. 1-17. 5; (368) under Dionysius, make war on Carthaginian territory in Sicily, winning victory on land but losing fleet, VII, 15. 73. 1-4; news of Dionysius' victory with tragedy at Athens is brought to, 74. 1; Dionysius dies; his son Dionysius II succeeds, 73. 5, 74. 2-5.

(Before 358) Dionysius II disarms people of, VII, 16. 10. 1; Dion brother-in-law of Dionysius I far surpasses others of, in courage and military skill, 6. 2-3; he escapes to Corinth and wins support for setting, free, 6. 4-5; (355) he sails for; Heracleides is to bring fleet to, 6. 5; (357) many Siciliotes join Dion as he moves on, 9. 1-6; welcomed at frontiers of, he arms the citizens, 10. 1-4; he enters, without opposition, Dionysius II being in Italy, 10. 4-11. 3, 6. 1, 9. 1-3, 16. 2; Dionysius II returns to the Island, makes truce, then violates it, 11. 3-5; build wall from sea to sea; repulse mercenaries of Dionysius with difficulty, 12. 1-5; he again seeks to make terms; his supplies are cut off, 13. 1-3; (356) aid Leontines in driving Dionysius' general Philistus from their city, 16. 1; make Heracleides co-general with Dion, 16. 2; defeat Philistus in naval battle, 16. 3-4; refuse to make terms with Dionysius,

who sails to Italy leaving mercenaries holding citadel of, 16. 4-17. 2; divide into factions supporting Dion or Heracleides; Dion wins victory, 17. 1-5; Nysius admiral of Dionysius occupies citadel of; then takes most of city, 18. 1-19. 4; Dion drives Nysius from, and is made general with supreme power, 20. 1-6; (354) Callippus kills Dion and becomes tyrant of, 31. 7; (353) friends of Dion driven from; Hipparinus s. of Dionysius I defeats Callippus and rules, for two years, 36. 5; (351) under Leptines and Callippus, expel Dionysius II from Rhegium, 45. 9.

(348) Torn by civil strife; appeal to Corinthians, who name Timoleon to command, VII, 16. 65. 1-2, 7-9, VIII, 16. 66. 1; (345) Hicetas defeats Dionysius and takes all, except the Island, 67. 2, 68. 1-4; Andromachus a supporter of, welcomes Timoleon in Tauro-menium, 68. 8; Timoleon defeats Hicetas and moves to, 68. 10-11; (344) control of, divided between Dionysius, Hicetas, and Timoleon, with Punic fleet in Great Harbour, 69. 3; Timoleon takes all, except citadel, and Carthaginians leave, 69. 4-6; (343) Dionysius II surrenders citadel of, and retires to Corinth, 70. 1-3; Timoleon re-establishes democracy in, 70. 4-6, VII, 16. 65. 8-9; (342) repulse attack of Hicetas, VIII, 16. 72. 3-4; (340) under Timoleon, move into Carthaginian territory and win victory at Crimissus riv., 77. 4-81. 2, VII, 16. 65. 8-9; some of booty later dedicated in, VIII, 16. 80. 6; (339) Timoleon expels mercenaries who had deserted before Crimissus, 82. 1, 78. 3-79. 2; Carthage agrees not to aid tyrants at war with, 82. 3;

Postumius an Etruscan raider puts in at, and is executed, 82. 3; under Timoleon, free cities and extend citizenship to many, 82. 4-5, 90. 1, IX, 19. 2. 8; colonists attracted to, from Greece, VIII, 16. 82. 5; Cephalus revises laws of, 82. 6-7, V, 13. 35. 3; Leontines transferred to, VIII, 16. 82. 7; wealth accumulated for later building activity, 83. 1-3; (337) bury Timoleon with honours, 90. 1.

(Before 317) Ruled by oligarchy of the Six Hundred Nobles, IX, 19. 4. 3, 5. 6, 6. 3; Carcinus and his son Agathocles come to, 2. 7; under Heracleides and Sostratus, aid Croton against Brutii, 3. 3; Sostratus and supporters gain control of, 3. 5, but are exiled, 4. 3; with Carthaginian aid Sostratus attacks, 4. 3; ingenuity of Agathocles before Gela, 4. 3-7; Acestorides of Corinth elected general of, 5. 1; make peace with Carthage and receive back those expelled with Sostratus, 5. 4; (317) violence in, as Agathocles seizes power, 5. 4-8. 6; elect him sole general, 9. 1-4, 18. 75. 3, 19. 1. 6, 2. 1; he wins favour in, 9. 4-7; (315) under Agathocles, make unsuccessful raids on Messenê, 65. 1-4; exiles from, aid defence of Messenê, 65. 4; (314) exiles from, persuade Acragas to drive Agathocles from, X, 19. 70. 1-2; Acrotatus persuades Tarentum to assist the, 70. 8; exiles from, attack Acrotatus when Sostratus (Sostratus) is killed, 71. 5; by terms of treaty, most Greek towns are autonomous under hegemony of, 71. 7; Agathocles gains control of most of Greek Sicily, 72. 1-2, 102. 1; (312) exiles from, gather in Messenê; are expelled, 102. 1, 4; they seek aid of Carthage, 103. 1;

Carthaginians raid Great Harbour, 103. 4; Agathocles defeats the exiles, 104. 1-4; (811) under Agathocles, are defeated by Carthaginians at Himera riv., 106. 1-110. 1; Agathocles returns to, 110. 1-2, 5, 20. 3. 1; he prepares to invade Libya, 19. 110. 5.

(310) Carthage controls all Sicily except, X. 20. 3. 2, 70. 1; at beginning of Libyan campaign Agathocles leaves brother Antander in command of, 4. 1; under Agathocles, make campaign in Libya, 3. 3-18. 3; to prevent revolution in, he divides families, 4. 3-4; he exacts money from, 4. 5-8; he escapes Punic blockade of harbour of, 5. 2-4; regarded by Carthaginians as a prize, 6. 1; besieged by Carthaginians while Agathocles besieges Carthage, 13. 3-4; discord in, when Hamilcar spreads false news of Agathocles' death, 15. 1-6; those exiled from, for favouring surrender take refuge with Hamilcar, 15. 3. 6; Hamilcar begins siege of, 15. 6-16. 2; word of Agathocles' victory in Libya reaches; Hamilcar gives up siege of, 16. 3-9; (309) misled by prophecy, Hamilcar attacks, but is captured, 29. 2-30. 3; Agragas seeks leadership, expecting no opposition from, 31. 3; soldiers left in, by Agathocles plunder neighbouring cities, 32. 1-2; hard pressed by famine, 32. 3; ships sent to escort grain ships to, are driven ashore by Carthaginians, 32. 3-5; campaign of Agathocles in Libya, 33. 1-34. 7; (308) many from, serve in Carthaginian army in Libya, 39. 5; campaign of Agathocles in Libya, 38. 1-44. 7; he sends spoils to, 44. 7; (307) campaign in Libya under Agathocles, 54. 1-55. 5; he returns to Sicily, 55. 5, 56. 3-4; under generals of Agathocles,

defeat Acragantines, 56. 2; exiles of, under Deinocrates gather forces, 57. 1-3; campaign in Libya under Archagathus, 57. 4-61. 4; Agathocles defeats Punic fleet freeing, from blockade, 61. 5-62. 1; Agathocles before returning to Libya puts 300 in, to death, 63. 6-7; he sails from, on second Libyan campaign, 63. 7; disasters of Agathocles in Libya, 64. 1-70. 4; on return he puts to death all relatives of those who had made Libyan campaign, 72. 1-5; (306) Agathocles offers to withdraw from, permit return of Deinocrates, and restore city to its citizens, 77. 3-78. 1; seeking sole rule in, Deinocrates prevents acceptance of these terms, 79. 1-5.

(299) Agathocles returns to, after campaign against Corcyra, XI. 21. 3. 1; (295) under Agathocles, take Croton, 4. 1; (294) make temporary conquest of Brutii, 8. 1; (289) effort of Agathocles to determine succession in, leads to series of assassinations; Menon plans to become tyrant of, 16. 1-7; Timaeus praises, for their courage, 17. 3; yield to Menon who is aided by Carthage, 18. 1; mercenaries cause strife in, 18. 1, 3; (280) Hicetas tyrant in, 22. 2. 1; (279) Thoenon s. of Mameus thrusts Hicetas from power, 7. 2-3; Sosistratus holds, 7. 6; (278) besieged by Carthage, call on Pyrrhus for aid, 8. 1-2; Pyrrhus accepts city from Sosistratus and Island from Thoenon, effecting reconciliation, 8. 3-5, 10. 1; he takes fleet, 8. 4; he carries siege engines from, for siege of Lilybaeum, 10. 2, 7; (269) under Hiero, defeat Mamertines on Loitanus riv., 13. 1-8; Polydorus frames laws for, V. 13. 35. 3; (264) when Romans cross to Sicily Hiero flees to, XI. 23.

3. 1; (236) remain subject to Hiero by terms of peace with Rome, 4. 1; (249) Roman fleet sailing from, is intercepted and defeated; cos. L. Junius Pullus seeks to return to, 24. 1. 7, 9; (214) overthrow Hieronymus who has succeeded Hiero, 26. 15. 1; vote to punish whole family of the tyrants, 15. 2; (211) M. Claudius Marcellus takes, in spite of Archimedes, a native of, 18. 1, XII. 37. 1. 3; Marcellus spares persons of, but confiscates property, XI. 26. 20. 1; become slaves to secure food, 20. 2; (104) slaves in, revolt; they are subdued, XII. 36. 3-6; (91) a Roman equestrian resident in, is adviser to governor of Sicily, 37. 8. 1.

Theatre in, the finest in Sicily, VIII. 16. 83. 3; Doric dialect used in, XI. 26. 18. 1 (p. 195); compared with Antioch on the Orontes, 19. 1; largest city in Greek world, V. 13. 96. 4, VII. 16. 5. 4, 9. 2. See Agathocles, Dionysius I and II, Gelon, Hicetas, Hiero I and II, rulers of; Antiochus, Archimedes, Astylus, Athanas, Callias, Damas, Dicon, Diocles, Hyperbius, Melité, Orthon of; Ortygia (the Island), Pachynus in or near.

Syria: borders on Arabia, I. 1. 28. 2, II. 2. 48. 1, 50. 2, 54. 3, and on Egypt, I. 1. 60. 6, VII. 15. 42. 2, IX. 18. 6. 3; produces birds and beasts of bright colours, II. 2. 53. 2; named for Syrus s. of Apollo, III. 4. 72. 2; Zeus crosses, III. 6. 1. 10; Sesoösis builds wall to protect Egypt from, I. 1. 57. 4; Psammethichus of Egypt campaigns in, 67. 2-3; Derceto mother of Semiramis worshipped in, as a fish, 2. 4. 2-4; doves who nurture Semiramis honoured by, 4. 6; Onnes governs, under Ninus, 5. 1; a king of, builds Hanging Gar-

dens of Babylon, 10. 1; Semiramis summons shipwrights from, to India, 16. 6-7; a queen of Asiatic Amazons subdues Asia as far as, II. 2. 46. 2; conquered by Libyan Amazons, 3. 55. 4; (460) Persians advance on Egypt through, IV. 11. 77. 1; (401) Cyrus feigns his campaign is against a satrap of, VI. 14. 20. 5; he enters, 21. 3-5; (362) take part in revolt against Persia, VII. 15. 90. 3; Tachos of Egypt sends Nectanebbs to besiege cities of, 92. 4; (c. 344) many cross from, to Cyprus to plunder, 16. 42. 9; Artaxerxes III crosses, 44. 4; (333) Dareius sends baggage to, before Issus, VIII. 17. 32. 3; (331) Alexander returns to, from Egypt, 52. 7.

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\*In these cases, Thrasylbulus is probably an error for Thrasylbulus.

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Timasitheüs, general of Liparaeans: (393=V396) frees Roman

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\*In these cases, Thrasybulus is probably an error for Thrasyllus.

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— Potitus, C.: (329=V331) cos., VIII, 17. 74. 1.

— L.: (477=V483) cos., IV, 11. 41. 1; (465=V470) 69. 1.

— L. (or C.): (411=V414) tr. mil. c. p., V, 13. 38. 1; (403=V406) VI, 14. 12. 1; (400=V403) 35. 1; (395=V398) 82. 1; (389=V392) cos., 103. 1; (384=V392) 15. 14. 1.

— Poplicola, P. (or C.): (372=V380) tr. mil. c. p., VII, 15. 50. 1; (369=V377) 61. 1.

— Volusus, C.: (407=V410) cos., V, 13. 76. 1; (404=V407)

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— Turpinus, L.: see L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus, cos., 442=V449.

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THE following table equates the numbering of the fragments in this edition, which is based on Vogel-Fischer (Leipzig, 1888 ff.) for Books Six to Ten and on Dindorf's fourth edition (Leipzig, 1866-1868) for Books Twenty-One to Forty, with that of the only earlier editions in which the fragments are distributed among the books (Bekker, 1853-1854; Dindorf-Mueller, 1842-1844). This will not only make this index usable with the earlier editions, but it will also facilitate locating in the present edition references using the other numbers.

Minor variations in section division (usually inadvertent) are not noticed. Bekker's edition lacks section numbers.

Brackets with no number enclosed are used to indicate passages from other books included without numbers among the fragments of Books Six to Ten but numbered in Dindorf<sup>4</sup> and Dindorf-Mueller.

In the last twenty books there are a number of fragments not found in Dindorf<sup>4</sup> but added by Professor Walton. These are not distinguished in the concordance.



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## BOOK XXX

1.1-5.1 1-5 1.1-5.1  
5a.1 — —  
6.1-7.1 6-7 6.1-7.1  
7.2-3 8 7.2-3  
8.1 9 8.1  
9.1-2 10-11 9.1-2  
10.1-2 12-13 10.1-2  
11.1-2 14-15 11.1-2  
12.1-17.1 16-21 12.1-17.1  
18.1-2 22-23 18.1-2  
19.1-20.1 24-25 19.1-20.1  
21.1-4 26-29 21.1-4  
22.1 30 22.1  
23.1-2 31-32 23.1-2  
24.1 33 24.1

## BOOK XXXI

1.1-5.1 1-5 1.1-5.1  
5.2a-2b 6 5.2  
5.3 7 5.3  
6.1 8 6.1  
7.1-2 9-10 7.1-2  
8.1-2 11 8.1-2  
8.3 12 8.2  
8.4-12 13 8.3-11  
8.13 14 8.12  
9.1-5 15 9.1-5  
9.6 16 9.6  
9.7 — 9.7  
10.1-2 17 10.1-2  
11.1-3 18 11.1-3  
12.1-15.1 19-22 12.1-15.1

# CONCORDANCE OF EDITIONS

Loeb ; Dindorf *	Bekker	Dindorf- Mueller
15.2-3	—	15.2-3
15a.1-4	—	—
16.1	23	16.1
16.2-3	24	16.2-3
17.1	25	17.1
17a.1-	—	—
17c.1	—	—
18.1	26	18.1
18.2-3	27	18.2-3
18a.1	—	—
19.1-8	28	19.1-8
19.9	29	19.9
20.1	30	20.1
21.1-24.1	31-34	21.1-24.1
25.1-2	35-36	25.1-2
26.1-7	37	26.1-7
27.1-8	38	27.1-8
27a.1	—	—
28.1-32.1	39-43	28.1-32.1
32a.1-	—	—
32b.1	—	—
33.1-40.1	44-51	33.1-40.1
40a.1	—	—
41.1-45.1	52-56	41.1-45.1

## BOOK XXXII

1.1-6.3	1-6	1.1-6.3
6.4	7	6.4
7.1-8.1	8-9	7.1-8.1
9.1	13	14.2
9a.1	10	9.1
9a.2-3	14-15	15.1-2
9b.1-9c.1	—	—
9d.1-12.3	11	10.1-12.3
13.1	—	13.1
14.1	12	14.1
15.1-7	—	—
16.1	17	17.1
17.1	—	—
17.2	16	16.1
18.1-25.1	18-25	18.1-25.1
26.1-5	26	26.1-5
27.1-3	27-29	27.1-3

## BOOK XXXIII

1.1-4	1	1.1-4
1.5	2	1.5
2.1-3.1	3-4	2.1-3.1
4.1-4	5	4.1-4

Loeb ; Dindorf *	Bekker	Dindorf- Mueller
4a.1	—	—
5.1-3	6	5.1-3
5.4-6	7	5.4-6
5a.1	—	—
6.1	8	6.1
6a.1	—	Uncertain
7.1-3	9	7.1-3
7.4-7	10	7.4-7
8.1-16.2	11-19	8.1-16.2
17.1-19.1	22-24	19.1-21.1
20.1-21.1	—	—
21a.1-2	25	22.1-2
22.1-25.1	26-29	23.1-26.1
26.1-2	30-31	27.1-2
27.1	32	28.1
28.1	—	—
28a.1	20	17.1
28b.1-4	21	18.1-4

## BOOKS XXXIV AND XXXV

1.1-5	1	1.1-5
2.1-23	2	2.1-23
2.24	3	2.24
2.24b	—	—
2.25-26	4	2.25-26
2.27-31	5	2.27-31
2.32-33	6-7	2.32-33
2.34-36	8	2.34-36
2.37-48	9-20	2.37-48
3.1	21	3.1
4.1-2	22-23	4.1-2
5.1	24	5.1
6.1-2	25-26	6.1-2
7.1-3	27-29	7.1-3
8.1-16.1	30-38	8.1-16.1
17.1-2	39-40	17.1-2
18.1-24.1	41-47	18.1-24.1
25.1-2	48-49	25.1-2
26.1-27.1	50-51	26.1-27.1
28.1-3	52-54	28.1-3
28a.1	—	—
29.1-30.1	55-56	29.1-30.1
30a.1-	—	—
30c.1	—	—
31.1	57	31.1
32.1	58-59	32.1
32a.1	—	—
33.1-8	60	33.1-8
34.1-35.1	61-62	34.1-35.1

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Loeb ; Dindorf *	Bekker	Dindorf- Mueller
35a.1	—	—
36.1-39.1	63-66	36.1-39.1
BOOK XXXVI		
1.1-2.6	1	1.1-2.6
2a.1	—	—
3.1-9.1	1	3.1-9.1
9.2	2	9.2
10.1-3	3	10.1-3
11.1-3	4	11.1-3
12.1-16.1	5-9	12.1-16.1

## BOOK XXXVII

1.1-6	1	1.1-6
2.1-14	2	2.1-14
3.1-5	3	3.1-5
3.6	4	3.6
4.1-5.1	5-6	4.1-5.1
5.2-3	7	5.2-3
5.4	8	5.4
5a.1	—	—
6.1-7.1	9-10	6.1-7.1
8.1-3	11	8.1-3
8.4	12	8.4
9.1	13	9.1
10.1	15	10.2
10.2	14	10.1
10.3	16	10.3
11.1-15.3	17-21	11.1-15.3
16.1	26	19.1
17.1-18.1	22-23	16.1-17.1
19.1-2	24-25	18.1-2
19.3-5	28-30	20.2-4
20.1	27	20.1
21.1-22.1	31-32	21.1-22.1

Loeb ; Dindorf *	Bekker	Dindorf- Mueller
22a.1-	—	—
22b.1	—	—
23.1-29.1	33-39	23.1-29.1
29.2-5	40	29.2-5
30.1-3	41	30.1-3

## BOOKS XXXVIII AND XXXIX

1.1-7.1	1-7	1.1-7.1
8.1-4	8-11	8.1-4
9.1-17.1	12-20	9.1-17.1
18.1-2	21-22	18.1-2
19.1-21.1	23-25	19.1-21.1
22.1-3	26-28	22.1-3

## BOOK XL

1.1-3	1	1.1-3
1a.1-1b.1	—	—
2.1-4.1	2-4	2.1-4.1
5.1	—	—
5a.1-2	5-6	5.1-2
6.1	—	6.1
7.1-4	—	7.1-4
8.1	7	8.1

## FRAGMENTS OF UN- CERTAIN LOCATION

1.1	—	—
1a.1	—	2.1
2.1	—	1.1
3.1	—	4.1
4.1	—	3.1
5.1-13.1	—	5.1-13.1
14.1	—	Frag. Dub. 1
15.1	—	—



## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

### VOL. XI

- p. 45, note 1. *Add*: On Decius Vibellius see now Broughton, *Magistrates (Suppl.)*, p. 69, who follows Livy, *Per.* 12, in defining his office as prefect, rather than tribune.
- p. 277, line 18. *For* on stooping *read* in stooping.
- p. 334, line 24. *For* ἔρριπτο δ' *read* ἔρριπτο δ' οὖν. *Add note*: So A: ἐρρίπτουν δ' M.
- p. 334, note 3. *Read* τακτὰ M: τὰ κατὰ A, τὰ ἔγκατα A<sup>2</sup>.
- p. 364, line 12. *For* δυεῖν *read* δυοῖν. *Add note*: So A: δυεῖν M.
- p. 366, line 21. *προσβύτατος*]. *Add note*: So M: *προσβύτερος* A.
- p. 368, note 1. *Read* So A: *ὑποβάλλεσθαι* M.
- p. 394, note 1. *For* Dindorf *read* Dübner. (For this and the following correction see Alfred Firmin Didot's "Addition" to Piccolos, *Nicolas de Damas, Vie de César*, Paris, 1850, p. 100.)
- p. 395, note 5. *For* Dindorf *read* Alfred Didot.
- p. 451, line 14. *For* her man *read* a man.
- p. 453, note 2. *Read* So Stephanus: *καλούμενον συριγγωθέντα* A, *καλούμενον τόπον συριγγωθέντος* M.
- p. 454, line 3. *καυλίσκον*]. *Add note*: So M: *αὐλίσκον* A<sup>2</sup>.

### VOL. XII

- p. 2, line 10. *For* συνεθίσας δὲ *read* συνείθισε δὲ. *Add note*: So M: *συνειθίσας* A<sup>2</sup>, *συνήθησε* A.
- p. 4, note 1. Henry records ἐξῆρε as the reading of A.
- p. 68, line 21. *For* ἔσφαζον *read* ἔφθαζον. Delete note 5 on p. 69. Both A and M read ἔφθαζον ἀπαυχενίσαντες, and since φθαζω=φθάνω has good Byzantine warrant, it should be retained. Translate: "they tried to anticipate their fate by beheading one another with the sword."

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- p. 148, note 1. Read ταύτη A: ταυτή A<sup>2</sup>, ταύτην M.  
 p. 165, note 3. A has Τροφωνα (Τρόφωνα M).  
 p. 170, line 18. ἐνάτην]. Add note: So AM: ἑκτὴν A<sup>2</sup>.  
 p. 192, line 5. καθιδρύθησαν]. Add note: So B: καθιδρυσαν AM.  
 p. 261, note 1. Add: On the names Felix-Epaphroditus see also E. Valgiglio, *Silla e la crisi repubblicana* (Firenze, 1956), esp. pp. 171 ff.

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